THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Controversial Energy Policy Widely Criticized

N.A.A.C.P. UNDER ATTACK

(Washington, D.C.) - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is embroiled in a storm of controversy over its recent stand on a national energy policy that is strikingly similar to the position of the oil industry.

The NAACP board of directors' position paper has been widely publicized as a pro-oil industry break with the Carter administration over the need to deregulate oil and to develop nuclear energy resources.

The stand spuriously links higher gas prices with more job opportunities for unemployed Blacks.

On the other hand, in a major statement on energy policy, National Urban League (NUL) Executive Director Vernon Jordan opposed deregulation and suggested that "price controls and regulations be extended to all domestic gas and oil."

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) took a similar stand, directly opposed to the NAACP's. "How on earth could deregulation be in the interests of Black people?" Representative John Conyers asked. "Obviously we are the relatively largest unemployed and would be the most adversely impacted by increased energy costs."

Controversy has arisen over the fact that the NAACP report was drafted by persons closely connected to the oil industry and strongly backed by Black oil executives, many



of whom belong to the American Association of Blacks in Energy (AABE).

Tempered criticism has also pointed with some concern to NAACP Board Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson's membership on the board of directors of the Monsanto Corporation, a company in the thick of the energy



NAACP leaders MARGARET BUSH WILSON and BENJAMIN HOOKS. The NAACP is under attack for its energy policy.

industry.

In a recent interview, Mrs. Wilson denied that her Monsanto connection had anything to do with the energy policy or that it was developed — as some have suggested — under irregular procedures.

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Pipe Ceremony On Alcatraz, Rally In Sacramento

INDIANS BEGIN "LONGEST WALK"

(Alcatraz Island, Calif.) - About 500 Native Americans and their supporters gathered here Saturday, February 11, to consecrate the start of a 3,000-mile winter trek to Washington, D.C., to protest 11 pieces of anti-Indian legislation.

Native American leader Dennis Banks explained, "Congress represents those forces which want to legally take over our land and natural resources. Each bill chips away at the sovereignty of our people."

Before embarking on what they are calling, "The Longest Walk," Indians gathered on grounds east of the old prison buildings on the site of an earlier Indian occupation of Alcatraz which ended in June, 1971.

The demonstrators then went to Sacramento to stage a rally before beginning the cross-country winter journey which is expected to last six months. By February 13, the group



Indians proceed to Alcatraz to launch "The Longest Walk."

had reached Reno, Nevada.

Of the 11 pieces of repressive legislation, the primary focus of attention has been on H.R. 9054, the deceptively named "Native American Opportunity Act," introduced by Representative Jack Cunningham of Washington state.

H.R. 9054 provides not only for the abolishment of all treaties entered into with Indian tribes by the U.S., but also for the abrogation of all rights and protections guaranteed to Indian people by these treaties, such as the rights to hunt and fish. In effect, it will terminante all federal protections of Native Americans.

A strong force behind "The Longest Walk," Banks declared at the Alcatraz gathering, "Indians consider themselves equal to other nations. We are not subordinate or a

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Editorial

SUPPORT "THE LONGEST WALK"

"The Longest Walk" has begun. Under seige from reactionary forces throughout the U.S., Native Americans and their supporters are marching across the country to the nation's capital to protest the vicious attack on their human rights.

Reminiscent of the legal onslaught against the rights of the newly freed slaves in the Reconstruction era, Congress has concocted an 11-bill legislative package designed to "chip away" at the sovereignty of the Indian people.

The most repressive of these bills is H.R. 9054, the so-called "Native American Opportunity Act." If passed, the bill would abolish all U.S. treaties with Indian people and deny all their rights guaranteed by these treaties. In short, Native Americans would once again become non-citizens.

Alongside the slavery of Black people, the brutal, systematic genocide of the Indian population, starting with the arrival of the first European colonizers on American soil and continuing to this day, ranks as the most sordid history of the U.S.

Native Americans have never been accorded the honor due them as the first "Americans." Instead, they have been treated as the scum of the earth, as non-people, as serfs in the land where they lived long before White people knew that North America existed.

Why this sudden nationwide blitz against Indians? In recent years, led by such groups as the American Indian Movement (AIM), Native Americans have been demanding that the U.S. government honor the hundreds of treaties it has made with them, treaties which, if enforced, would make the sovereignty of the Indian nation a reality.

The power structure is enraged because the Indians have dared to take their fight to the United Nations. They have dared to ask the world body to move to protect the human rights of their people, to end their vicious genocide.

"The Longest Walk" is an act of a people angry and weary of over three centuries of repression in a country which *they* settled. It deserves the support of all freedom-loving people in this country and the world. □



HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY

February 17

Letters to the Editor

NIGHTMARE IN ELMIRA, N.Y.

Dear Editor,

I am writing in hopes that what I have to say might help and warn some of my young brothers and sisters who might find themselves in a situation similar to one that I am now in.

I moved to Elmira, New York, from Kansas City, Missouri. Elmira is a small town in middle-state New York. It is a town that has only one county judge, who has held the position for over 20 years, and a district attorney, who also has held his post for quite some time.

At the time I got to Elmira, I really liked living here, but now it has turned into a nightmare.

It started March 7, 1977, when I was arrested for a murder I didn't even know happened. I was charged with second degree murder along with a co-defendant, Dennis Goodwin.

First we were told exactly what we were wearing the night of the murder. We were told that there was blood on our clothes and shoes. They were sent to the FBI for analysis. Everything returned negative — no blood, hair, skin or anything that connected us with the crime. (The victim was beat, kicked and cut from ear to ear.)

We were still held by the district attorney even though we had witnesses to our whereabouts.

Finally, the D.A. said he had a witness who could identify us. He said that this man has seen us arguing with the victim before he died (about 15 minutes later). When he came to court he said we were not the men he had seen. Because that was one more thing in our favor, the D.A. wanted to have his testimony stricken from the records (his own witness).

Later he wanted our palm prints and hair samples (prints were found at the murder scene along with a wool cap). These things again were negative.

With everything pointing to our innocence, the district attorney, or the city police, paid two girls to say they saw us commit the crime.

One girl testified that she saw a group of men beating and kicking a White man. She told what they were wearing, which did not match any single item that we had on or what the police said we had on. She also said that it could have been us because two of the men were tall (I'm 6', 1½'' and Goodwin's 6', 2¼'') but so are lots of men here. Then she stated, under pressure from

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COMMENT

Tribute To Malcolm X— "Let My Death Bring Light To The Truth"

February 21 marks the 13th anniversary of the assassination of a truly great Black leader, Malcolm X. In honor of Brother Malcolm's commitment and dedication to the struggle of Black people for freedom and liberation, THE BLACK PANTHER this week reprints excerpts from the final chapter of "The Autobiography of Malcolm X, *written in conjunction with the widely-acclaimed author of* Roots, *Alex Haley.*

I must be honest. Negroes — Afro-Americans — showed no inclination to rush to the United Nations and demand justice for themselves here in America. I really had known in advance that they wouldn't. The American White man has so thoroughly brainwashed the Black man to see himself as only a domestic "civil rights" problem that it will probably take longer than I live before the Negro sees that the struggle of the American Black man is international.

And I had known, too, that Negroes would not rush to follow me into the orthodox Islam which had given me the insight and perspective to see that the Black men and White men truly could be brothers. America's Negroes — especially older Negroes — are too indelibly soaked in Christianity's double standard of oppression.

So, in the "public invited" meetings which I began holding each Sunday afternoon or evening in Harlem's well-known Audubon Ballroom, as I addressed predominantly non-Muslim Negro audiences, I did not immediately attempt to press the Islamic religion, but instead to embrace all who sat before me:

"— not Muslim, nor Christian, Catholic, nor Protestant. . .Baptist nor Methodist, Democrat nor Republican, Mason nor Elk! I mean the Black people of Ameri-

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La Peralta tenants are considering escalating their two-month-old rent strike to a lawsuit.

LA PERALTA TENANTS CONSIDER LAWSUIT IN FIGHT FOR DECENT HOUSING

MILLIONAIRE SLUMLORD VIOLATES COURT SETTLEMENT

(Oakland, Calif.) - Tenants of the La Peralta apartments here, angered over millionaire slumlord William Nickerson's reneging on a court settlement requiring him to make repairs in the rundown, roach-infested structure, are scheduled to meet at week's end to consider filing a lawsuit against the real estate tycoon.

The predominantly Black tenants launched a rent strike on December 15 of last year to protest the indecent living conditions in the downtown Oakland residence. As a result of the strike, Nickerson signed an agreement in Municipal Court on January 17 in which he pledged to act on dozens of tenant complaints.

Not only has the wealthy slumlord — author of the bestselling book, *How I Turned $1,000 Into A Million In Real Estate In My Spare Time* — flagrantly violated the agreement, but he continues to evict tenants who are participating in the rent strike.

Other matters that have the tenants up in arms concern a recent string of break-ins and thefts in the building, the rapid turnover in the management, which has proved to be highly incompetent, and Nickerson's blatant efforts to divide the tenants.

Information provided exclusively to THE BLACK PANTHER has revealed that Nickerson is the business partner of real estate speculator Albert J. Lowry. Lowry owns numerous properties in the Fruitvale and East Oakland areas. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

Together, the two men operate the Las Vegas, Nevada-based Education Advancement Institute which features "Lowry/Nickerson Seminars." The two men travel across the country lecturing on "real estate investor training."

AGREEMENT

Under the court agreement worked out for the La Peralta Tenants Association by attorney Geoffrey Etnire, Nickerson agreed to the following:

- To cease pending or prospective eviction proceedings against tenants based on acts or events which took place before the agreement;
- To offer the agreement to each tenant who had been involved in the rent strike or occupied an apartment in need of repairs or other maintenance;
- To provide monthly exterminating services;
- To empty garbage in the two garbage areas on each floor on a daily basis, with the exception of Sundays and five holidays; and
- To provide heat and plumbing in accordance with the Oakland Building and Housing Codes applicable to the La Peralta.

In addition to this general agreement available to all tenants, Nickerson made several individual court settlements with tenants who had particular grievances.

In one case, the apartment window of tenant Renee Todd that had not closed several weeks

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WILL ASSUME STUDENT-TEACHING JOB THIS MONTH

Huey Returns To Merritt College

(Oakland, Calif.) - Huey P. Newton returns to Merritt College.

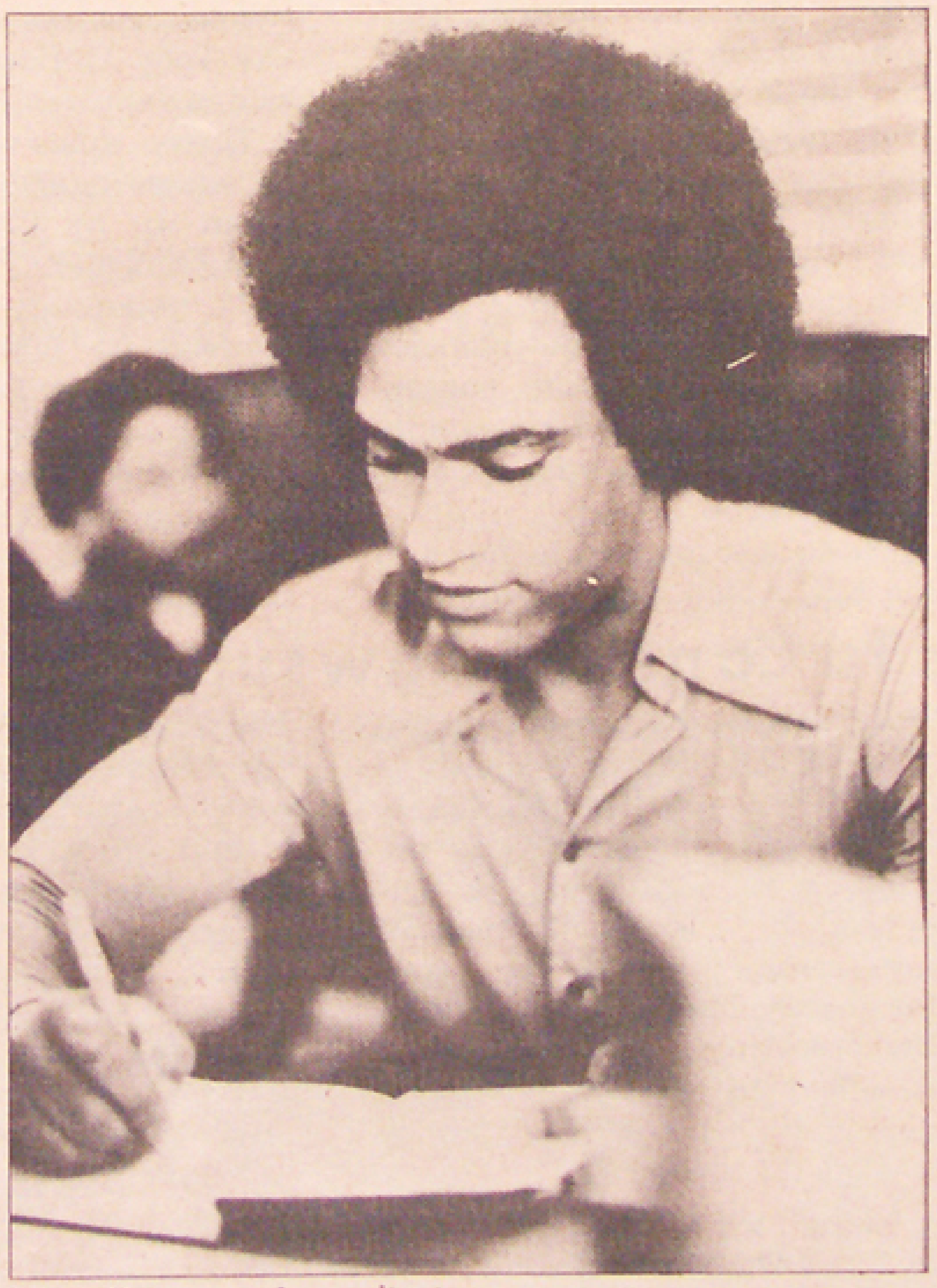
Following the unamious vote of the Peralta Community College District Board of Trustees last week, the Black Panther Party President will assume a non-paying student teacher job sometime later this month.

The teaching position was made in agreement with the University of California, Santa Cruz campus, where the BPP's chief theoretician is enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate in Interdisciplinary Studies, a post-graduate doctoral course covering the fields of history and social consciousness (philosophy, psychology and sociology.)

The course Huey will teach at Merritt involves psychology and Black Studies.

It was while he was an undergraduate at Merritt College (then on Grove Street in North Oakland) in the mid-1960's that Huey formed the Black Panther Party (for Self-Defense) in October, 1966.

Black Panther Party President HUEY P. NEWTON.

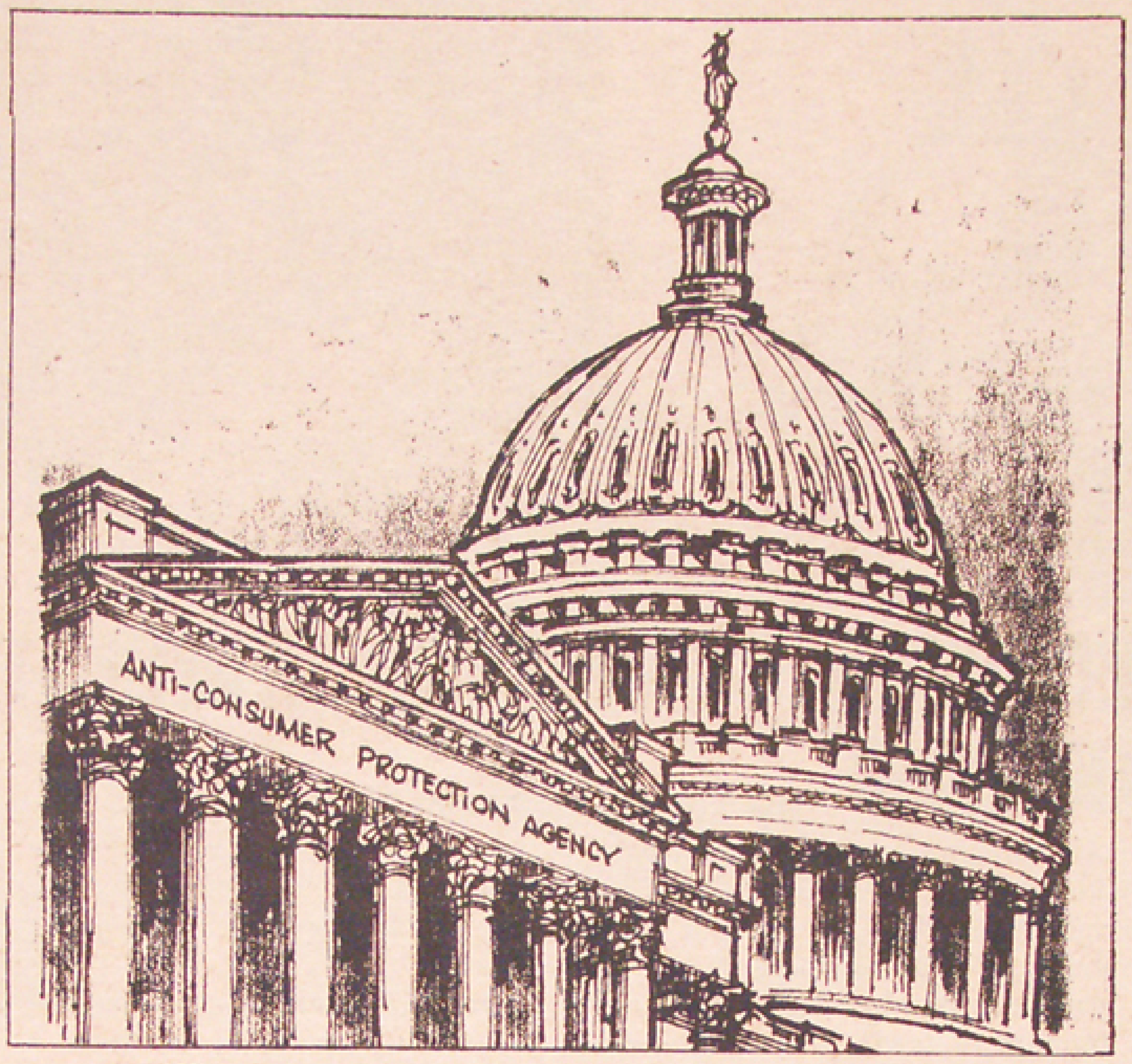


Although Merritt has since been moved to a spot overlooking the city, a famous Black History mural — which includes portraits of early Black Panther Party members, including Huey and Bobby Hutton, the first BPP member and the first slain by the police — was preserved and also moved to the college's present site.

Huey's brother, Melvin Newton, is a professor at Merritt and is chairperson of the school's Liberal Arts Department. □

CORPORATE LOBBYING EFFORT CALLED "FRIGHTENING"

BIG BUSINESS DEFEATS CONSUMER AGENCY BILL



(Washington, D.C.) - The House of Representatives last week killed a bill to create a federal office of consumer representation, legislation sought by leading consumer advocates for over a decade.

The legislation's defeat, by a 227 to 189 vote, was bitterly denounced by prominent consumer advocate Ralph Nader. "The corrupting influence of big business campaign contributions, promised or withdrawn, has never been more clear than in the last few days. . .," said Nader in blasting the House for foresaking consumer interests in the face of a massive lobbying effort by business interests to defeat the bill.

"Those members who today voted against the consumer should know that consumers will organize to vote against them tomorrow," Nader warned.

The bill would have shaken up the widely criticized federal consumer bureaucracy by abolishing 26 consumer interest offices and creating instead a more potent central agency empowered to intervene on behalf of consumers to make government regulatory agencies more accountable and responsive to consumer interests.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce spearheaded the fight against the consumer bill.

"I've been up here for 25 years and have never seen such intensive lobbying," said Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neil, Jr. In a last minute appeal the House Speaker urged his colleagues to forget whatever promises they may have made to business interests opposing the legislation.

Following the defeat of the measure, White House consumer aide Esther Peterson was moved to comment, "The big black suits have been in the corridor." The aide to President Carter said she was frightened by this show of "corporate power."

Ms. Peterson said the White House would continue to support consumer representation in government, possibly by executive order. However, House supporters of the legislation charged that the White House had done little effective work after announcing that the bill was a high priority. They charged that Carter had helped defeat the bill by his own campaign complaints about too many government agencies and too much regulation, conservative cliches echoed repeatedly by House members who opposed the legislation.

Those who argued in favor of the bill, which was considerably watered-down from what its supporters were seeking even last year, said that the agency was necessary to give some balance to the overwhelming ability of business to influence the regulatory process and other governmental functions with lawyers, public relations experts, lobbyists and other paid officials.

"The imbalance is 50 to 1; 100 to 1 on most issues," Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut said in debate.

Three times previously the consumer agency bill has been taken up by Congress without being enacted. The last time, in 1975, similar measures were adopted by both houses. But, after President Ford said that he would veto the measure, the houses did not attempt to reconcile the differences between their bills and send a final measure to the White House.

La Peralta Tenants To Consider Lawsuit

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prior to the rent strike still has not been fixed, despite the agreement Ms. Todd made with Nickerson.

To show their good faith that Nickerson would live up to the agreement, the tenants agreed to pay their rents in a trust account.

The city Housing and Conservation Division completed an inspection of the La Peralta on January 25 and found some 88 Building Code violations.

Among them were filthy garbage chutes; unapproved and improper electrical wiring; a leaky pressure valve in the heating system; poorly painted halls and lobby areas; broken windows; and defective toilets.

Tenant spokesperson Kirmet Rooney said that security in the building is very poor, as evidenced by the recent rash of mysterious break-ins and burglaries. Many tenants believe the break-ins are "inside jobs" designed to promote suspicion among themselves and thereby weaken the rent strike.

In a recent incident, a woman tenant was viciously manhandled by the Oakland Police Department after ex-apartment manager John Ford charged her with assaulting his wife.

The incident occurred when Ms. Betty Crumpter went to ask if she could help a fellow tenant whose apartment had been broken into while he was sick in the hospital in Los Angeles.

Ford's wife told the tenant, Mr. Morris, a 33-year employee of Amtrak, not to talk to Ms. Crumpter. When Morris refused and Ms. Crumpter protested at Mrs. Ford's interference, Ford called the police.

Upon their arrival, they barged into Ms. Crumpter's apartment dragged her out, handcuffed her and beat her brutally as they took her to a waiting paddy wagon. She was placed in a "mental" hospital but later released.

This Week In Black History



February 21, 1965

Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925, the future Black leader spent his early childhood in Lansing, Michigan. His father, Rev. Earl Little, was a Baptist minister, and, in his son's words, "a dedicated organizer" for Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association. Rev. Little died mysteriously in 1931, his body cut in half after being placed on a railroad track. His family believed that he was attacked by White racists.

Following Rev. Little's death, Malcolm and his seven brothers and sisters were split up. The state welfare agency claimed that Mrs. Little was mentally incapable of taking care of her children and put her in a mental institution.

After finishing the eighth grade, Malcolm moved to Boston, his older, half-sister Ella taking legal custody of him. Never returning to school, the teenage Malcolm held numerous jobs. He eventually moved to New York where he turned to petty crime, alternately living as a hoodlum, thief, dope peddler and a pimp.

While serving a nearly seven-year sentence in a Massachusetts prison, Malcolm became a convert to the then Nation of Islam (now the World Community of Islam in the West). Upon his release from prison in 1952, he became a minister in the Nation, rising to become its fiery chief spokesperson before being suspended by the late Elijah Muhammad in November, 1963.

A holy pilgrimage to Mecca led to Malcolm's conversion to Orthodox Islam in 1964. Later that year, he founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which embodied self-determination and self-defense for Black people.

He was assassinated on February 21, 1965, in Harlem's Audubon Hotel.



Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"ARTICHOKE"

Latest C.I.A. Disclosure: Involuntary Assassins

(Washington, D.C.) - A 1954 CIA project to carry out political assassinations committed by persons unknowingly subjected to mind-control drugs was revealed in newly released government documents last week.

The plot was disclosed in a series of 1954 memorandums made public under the Freedom of Information Act. The documents were prepared as part of a project sometimes known by the code name "Artichoke," one of four CIA programs to conduct mind-control experiments from 1949 to 1974, when the efforts were allegedly terminated.

Several groups have studied the documents from the standpoint of whether they may provide any evidence in the continuing inquiries into the assassinations of President Kennedy or Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Members of a nonprofit group, the Assassination Information Bureau, said that the security officer for the "Artichoke" project, Sheffield Edwards, was later the CIA man assigned to form the assassination team that made attempts on the life of Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba.

The Bureau's conclusion is supported by a Senate Intelligence report and CIA docu- released under the Freedom of Information Act.

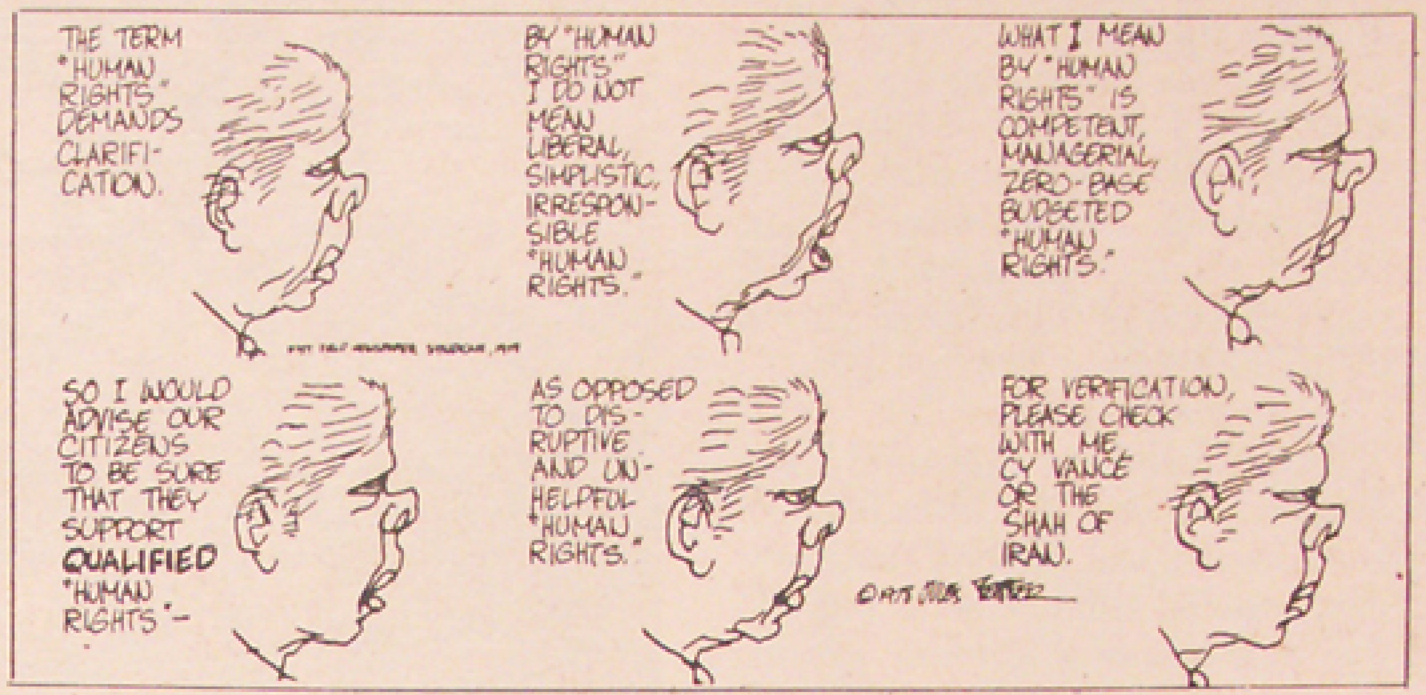
According to the latest documents, a team from the project, which usually included interrogation experts, drug experts and psychiatrists or psychologists, was asked to "give an evaluation" of the following "hypothet-

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MILITARY AID CONTINUES

U.S. WHITEWASHES HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF ALLIES

(Washington, D.C.) - While criticizing several of its allies for human rights violations in a carefully worded State Department report released last week, the Carter administration reduced military aid to only one, because of "strategic and political" considerations.



Jimmy Carter's human rights policy is full of double talk.

The 426-page document, the second annual report on human rights practices in the 105 countries that receive U.S. aid or buy American weapons, was prepared for Congress and released jointly by the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Israel, the Philippines, the Nationalist Chinese government on Taiwan, South Korea and Iran were among the U.S. allies cited for human rights violations by the State Department. Nicaragua, which is presently undergoing political turmoil due to the popular uprising against the repressive regime of President Anastasio Somoza, was the only country to receive reduced aid from the U.S.

Israel — described as "a full-fledged parliamentary democracy" — was accused of "extreme physical and psychological pressure" in interrogating prisoners in occupied Palestinian territory.

The Philippine government was cited for corruption so pervasive as to hamper aid to the poor and for torturing political prisoners and detaining hundreds without charges or trials.

The Taiwan government, accused by the Carter administration on the one hand of operating under martial law conditions, was praised due to the decrease of reports of cruel, inhuman or degrading forms of punishment.

Despite the notorious reputation of the Iranian government for violating human rights, the State Department report shied away from severe criticism of the Middle East regime.

The report said that the Iranian government "has dealt firmly — at times harshly — with persons from both left and right" charged with committing acts against the state. The country's court system was praised for "some potentially significant improvements." Also, the Shah's regime, according to the White House, is "committed to prison reform."

Concerning South Korea, also known throughout the world for its human rights violations, the report alleged that torture is not now "regularly employed" in the Asian country and that the infringement on political liberties is "the heart of (Korea's) human rights problems."

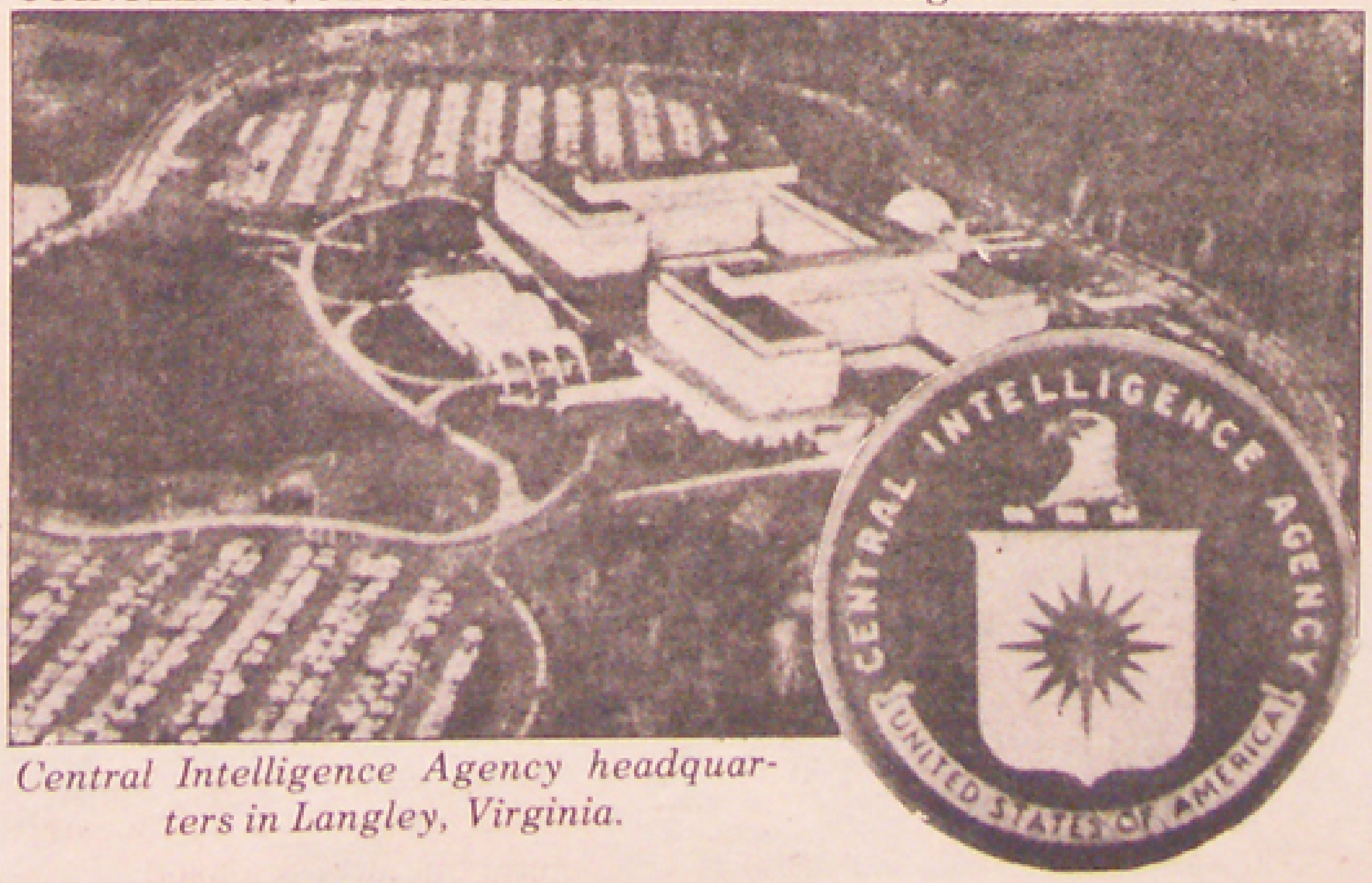
This year's report is a marked departure from that of last year, which denounced human rights violations in Argentina and Brazil to the point where both Latin American countries responded with outrage. Brazil broke a 25-year-old military treaty with America, and Argentina ended its aid relationship with the U.S.

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CIVIL LIBERTARIANS SCORE LOOPHOLES

Senate Bill To Curb Intelligence Abuses Introduced

(Washington, D.C.) - After three years of investigating the hideous and sometimes murderous crimes of the U.S. intelligence community in the continuing post-Watergate fallout — among them the notorious FBI COINTELPRO, CIA assassination plots and disruption of progressive, Third World governments, and unprecedented, massive political spying and intrusion on civil liberties — the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence last week introduced legislation to curb intelligence abuses.



Central Intelligence Agency headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The legislative package contains an outright ban on political assassinations, and is intended to limit the scope of covert operations abroad and protect the civil liberties of Americans against interference by the intelligence community.

PROPOSALS

The proposals cover the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency (NSA) and the intelligence operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Defense. It would create a director of national intelligence and formalize a command structure similar to one set forth in President Carter's executive order on intelligence reorganization last month.

If these legislative charters become law, they would supercede Carter's order. Debate is expected to last nearly a year.

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N.A.A.C.P. UNDER ATTACK

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to do with the energy policy or that it was developed — as some have suggested — under irregular procedures.

"There is nothing in my career that says I can be co-opted for money," Mrs. Wilson said.

Questions have also been raised by two prominent Black journalists and New York City's influential *Village Voice.*



Unemployment in the Black community will not be reduced by the NAACP's pro-business energy policy, opponents of the policy charge.

COLUMNIST

Syndicated columnist Carl Rowan noted, "NAACP leaders have swallowed the line that they can forge an alliance with 'big oil' that will produce greater profits . . .with Blacks reaping jobs and prosperity."

Syndicated columnist Bill Raspberry wrote an article in the *Chicago Sun Times* headlined, "Big Oil Gives NAACP a Grease Job." Raspberry's commentary began:

". . .The NAACP's recent energy conference suggest that: a) the organization has suddenly joined the ranks of the free marketers; b) that it is prepared to pay unconscionable social costs for job production, or; c) it has been had by a handful of Blacks who work for 'big oil.' "

The *Village Voice* last month printed a front-page probe by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway entitled "Big Oil's Black Allies," which thoroughly detailed the events leading to the adoption of the NAACP policy.

"By buying the industry line," wrote Ridgeway and Cockburn, "The NAACP has, in pursuit of job expansion, unerringly selected a sector of the economy — oil, nuclear and synthetics — which is capital-intensive and which promises to reduce rather than increase jobs available."

The *Village Voice* account begins in mid-November when some 400 delegates to the NAACP's energy conference met in Washington, D.C. Two task forces were formed. One, dealing with consumer demand, was chaired by Lee White, the former chairperson of the Federal Power Commission.

White has widely been identified with consumer interests. His task force of 25 or 30 people consisted mostly of rank-and-file members of the NAACP, *Liberation News Service* reports.



"The poor will suffer from whatever plan emerges from Washington, D.C."

The second task force, on supply, was quite different. It was headed by Robert Bates, formerly a staff assistant to Senator Edward Kennedy in charge of minority affairs, and now a lobbyist for Mobil Oil.

Bates' group also included members of Standard Oil of California, Arco, Southern California Gas, Con Edison, Arthur D. Little, and people from the federal Department of Energy. This task force echoed the industry line.

TASK FORCES

When the two task forces met for a discussion of their reports, according to Ridgeway and Cockburn, it was the first task force's report, in opposition to the industry line, that was voted on and accepted. But the report that was finally written up and released was the work of the second task force.

Ridgeway and Cockburn traced the change in reports to the leadership of the NAACP and Mrs. Wilson's intimate relationship to the oil industry.

Hobart Taylor, a Washington, D.C., lawyer and member of the board of the NAACP, is a director of, among other corporations, Standard Oil of Ohio, Westinghouse (a producer of nuclear reactors) and Aetna Life and Casualty.

His law firm's clients include Standard Oil of Ohio, Westinghouse, Textron, Pan American, and Owen's Illinois. Taylor is in charge of the NAACP's special contribution fund.

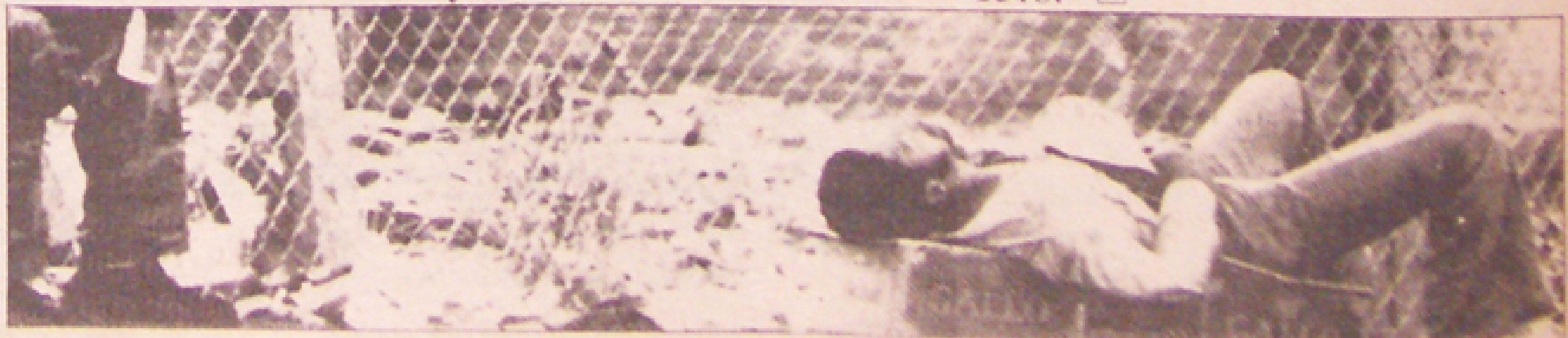
Another contributor to the NAACP's revised energy position, Andrew Brimmer, is notorious for his opposition to the idea of any minimum wage law. Brimmer, a former member of the Federal Reserve Board, now sits on the boards of Dupont and United Airlines.

He is also the financial consultant to the largest and most successful Black-owned oil firm in the United States, Wallace and Wallace.

The NAACP's controversial stand has brought it some strange new bedfellows. The *Wall Street Journal,* for example, editorialized, ". . .for the first time in memory the NAACP has sided emphatically with the free-marketeers instead of the interventionists on a major question of public policy."

Vernon Jordan expressed a worthy opinion of the Black and poor community sentiment in the conclusion of his NUL energy report:

"If we can be sure about anything in this unpredictable world, it is that the poor will suffer from whatever plan emerges from Washington in 1978."□



FOR INFORMERS' RIGHTS

Webster Confirmed As New F.B.I. Director

(Washington, D.C.) - U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge William H. Webster was confirmed by voice vote on February 10 to a 10-year term as director of the FBI.

The nomination of Webster, 53, who will succeed retiring FBI Director Clarence Kelley to become the third permanent head of the Bureau, was strongly opposed by Black groups because of the federal judge's membership in four all-White social clubs in St. Louis.

During two days of testimony at the Senate Judiciary Committee's confirmation hearings, Webster said he had no plans to resign from the clubs, which include the Noonday Club, the Mysterious Order of the Veiled Prophets, the St. Louis Country Club and the University Club. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

The Carter administration's selection of the appeallate judge for FBI chief was no doubt based on Webster's opinion on FBI informers, handed down last October in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist

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TWO CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST INDICTED AGENT

NEW YORK F.B.I. CITED FOR ILLEGAL ACTS - NO PROSECUTIONS

(New York, N.Y.) - The head of New York's FBI office and 26 agents have been named as unindicted co-conspirators in a case involving mail tampering and illegal wiretapping in searching for radical fugitives.

According to a Justice Department "bill of particulars" filed in U.S. District Court in Manhattan last week, J. Wallace LaPrade and his agents conspired with John Kearney, the former FBI supervisor in New York who is the only defendant in the case, to spy on the Weathermen in the early 1970's. (The Weathermen group is a spin-off of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which came into prominence as one of the leaders of the anti-war movement during the late 1960's.)



Former New York City FBI supervisor JOHN KEARNEY (left) is greeted by fellow agents following his arraignment last year.

At the same time, U.S. District Court Judge Kevin T. Duffy threw out two of five counts charging Kearney with mail tampering in the conspiracy.

Kearney is the first FBI agent ever indicted. He was charged last April in connection with his command of Squad 47, a "Red Squad" unit assigned to "neutralize" the Weathermen.

Judge Duffy ruled in favor of a motion by Kearney's lawyer, Edward Bennett Williams, that the two counts should be dismissed because of a technical error in the grand jury indictment.

Duffy dismissed two counts charging numerous illegal mail openings based on a minor technicality: that each count charged more than one offense, violating a rule that requires a separate count for each offense charged. Duffy also ruled that one count charging a number of illegal wiretaps might be narrowed down to specify a single offense, but remarked that "there is some doubt" that the government prosecutors could succeed in doing this.

A spokesman for U.S. Attorney Robert Fiske said it was unlikely the government would appeal Duffy's ruling. He said the prosecution could seek to re-indict Kearney on the mail charges in a way that would conform to the ruling, or proceed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

COINTELPRO Plots Against Republic Of New Africa Revealed

(Jackson, Miss.) - More disclosures of FBI "dirty tricks" against the Provisional Government, Republic of New Africa (RNA), in Detroit and Mississippi came to light here this week as RNA investigators pored over 1,000 pages of recently released files.

Among the startling discoveries was a document showing that the FBI fingerprint lab was not prepared to support its claim that a palm print found on a supposed murder rifle really belonged to RNA Vice President Hekima Ana.

This FBI deception changed defense strategy and played a major role in a jury verdict of guilty to first degree murder for Hekima and two other men. They were convicted on state charges for the death of a Jackson police lieutenant who was among 40 policemen and FBI agents who besieged the RNA residence during the early hours of August 18, 1971. The police and agents claim they had come to serve a fugitive warrant. The wanted man was not at the house.

The newly released pages also reveal a frantic effort in the days after the shoot-out, on the part of the FBI and federal prosecutors, to find some charge which would stick against RNA President Imari Obadele. Obadele and three others had been arrested at the RNA office, several blocks away, where no shooting occurred.

At one point FBI Director Hoover is advised that the state of Mississippi had lodged charges of "waging war against the state of Mississippi," state treason charges, "in order to hold" Obadele and the three others arrested at the office with him. In another memo, the Jackson FBI complains to Washington headquarters of the "magnitude of the problem faced by local and federal officials in convicting Henry (Obadele's former name)."



Arrested RNA members following 1971 FBI raid in Jackson, Mississippi.

In another previously-suppressed memo Justice Department attorneys beseech the Washington field office for any "statements (of Obadele) which could be construed as initiating the conspiracy." The Washington field office could produce nothing adequate, but Obadele was later charged, along with eight others, with conspiracy to assault federal officers and sentenced to 12 years. He is currently at Atlanta Penitentiary. A federal habeas corpus appeal for him is expected to be argued this spring in Philadelphia.

As the federal trial approached,

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Members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) sit chained following August 18, 1971, FBI raid on an RNA residence in Jackson, Mississippi.

COINTELPRO Plots Against R.N.A.

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the newly released documents show the FBI in Mississippi became outraged at the Justice Department in Washington. The Justice Department apparently considered its case too weak to go to court even in Mississippi.

As a result the Jackson FBI called upon Senators Eastland and Stennis to intervene. Not long afterwards Elliott Richardson, then attorney general, talked with the FBI head in Mississippi for "clarity." He then personally gave the go-ahead for prosecution.

The Jackson FBI warned: "If this case is not vigorously pursued and charges are dropped, publicity in this matter will be spread to all extremist organizations throughout the United States by the RNA. (Obadele's) previous public statements can leave little doubt that he would utilize such action to increase his own stature."

The federal prosecution lied in denying that President Obadele and the RNA were COINTELPRO targets or that such a program existed. RNA targetting was not admitted until March, 1977, months after President Obadele and the two other RNA defendants on bail had returned to jail.

Finally, the FBI takes credit for producing stories in the *Detroit News* in 1969 by reporters Don Ball and Michael Maharry, promoting a so-called "split" between President Obadele and his brother, attorney Milton R. Henry, both then RNA officers.☐

Webster Confirmed As F.B.I. Director

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Alliance (YSA) lawsuit against government spying and disruption, the *Militant* reports.

The SWP and YSA have demanded the complete files of 18 informers the FBI admits spied on the two groups. Evidence has already shown that informers not only inform, they also carry out burglaries and COINTELPRO disruption plots.

When Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP and YSA case, ordered the FBI to show the files to YSA and SWP attorneys, the government appealed to a three-judge panel that included Webster.

The three appeals judges decided that they had no legal grounds to reverse Griesa's order. But Webster and Judge Van Graafeiland issued an opinion urging Griesa to reconsider his ruling anyway.

Webster and the other judge felt compelled to "express our concern" that allowing the attorneys to see the evidence on informers would lead "to unnecessary rummaging in government files."

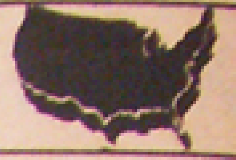
Webster and Van Graafeiland warned that allowing anyone to see the informer files "is likely to compromise the fundamental public policy underlying the [informer] privilege."

"Informer privilege" is the legal doctrine which the FBI uses to cover up its informers' crimes. According to this "privilege" informers have the right to complete secrecy — no matter what they do.

Now that Webster, as FBI chief, will be a defendant in the socialists' lawsuit instead of its appeals judge, he will probably be even more concerned about keeping the records secret.

Add to his appreciation of informers Webster's ruling in a controversial police case in St. Louis. When he excused the cops of wrongdoing, Webster explained that it was "unrealistic" to think police work can be error free.☐

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE



South Carolina Kills E.R.A.

(Columbia, S.C.) - The South Carolina Senate, after four hours of debate, voted 25 to 2 to kill a resolution to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution. ERA has been ratified by 35 states but must be approved by three more states by March 22, 1979, in order to amend the Constitution. Three states who ratified ERA have withdrawn their approval, although the legality of these withdrawals is under investigation. Recently the Alabama state senate rejected ERA by a 24 to 8 vote.

Record Tax Breaks

(Washington, D.C.) - A new Treasury Department study reveals that 1.4 per cent of U.S. taxpayers, those with incomes of $50,000 a year or more, reaped 31 per cent of all "authorized" tax breaks for individuals. These benefits mean $84 billion lost in tax revenues, in addition to $28 billion lost due to special benefits for corporations. Very few of the tax benefits are focused on those making $20,000 a year or less yet they account for 62 million of the 88 million individuals who filed 1977 tax returns.

Jobs Decrease

(Washington, D.C.) - A study prepared by the Public Interest Research Group reports that every time the U.S. defense budget increases by one billion dollars, some 11,600 jobs are lost. The jobs are lost due to the fact that military spending produces fewer jobs than investing in other areas would, and thus the current $107 billion military budget is costing a minimum of 1,240,000 jobs.

Nix Racist Union

(Newport News, Va.) - After years of repeated attempts, a victory was scored by the United Steel Workers Union at the Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia. Led by Black workers, the 20,000 workers at the shipyard voted out the company union which had been entrenched since 1939. Tenneco is Virginia's largest private employer and has a long history of racist practices and wage and benefit cutbacks.

Burke To Run

(San Francisco, Calif.) - U.S. Representative Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, a Congressional Black Caucus member, announced her candidacy for state attorney general last week. Burke, who has worked closely with the federal courts, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the California Assembly Criminal Justice Committee, will be opposing Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines for the Democratic nomination.

Charges Dropped Against Hawaiians

(Honolulu, Hawaii) - A federal judge has dismissed charges against 22 Hawaiians charged with "trespassing" on Hawaiian land under U.S. Navy control. This is the second time in two months that the U.S. military failed in its attempt to block civilians from returning to Kahoolawe Island, which the Navy has used for bombing practice since 1941.

Although a 1953 Presidential order gave the Navy control of the island, the decree also stipulates that the island be returned to civilians when no longer needed by the military. The Ohana movement has vowed to struggle until the Navy stops its needless daily bombing runs and the island is returned to the Hawaiian people as an historical and cultural sanctuary.

Children's Commercials Hit

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The locally-based Committee on Children's Television and Consumers Union filed a petition with the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) last week to end all television commercials which exploit trusting pre-schoolers and young children. The petition states that "children are highly vulnerable to the claims and influence of commercial advertisers and don't understand that the presentations are designed only to sell."

Special Admissions Threatened

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A proposal by the University of San Francisco Law School dean which would reduce the special admissions program from 50 to 10 students faces widespread student and community opposition. A demonstration and rally were held recently when the proposal was presented to the faculty for their vote, the outcome of which has yet to be announced.

C.I.A. Director Addresses Secret Group Of Corporate Presidents

(San Francisco, Calif.) - CIA Director Stansfield Turner was here last week to address a mysterious, secret organization of 550 corporate presidents who are strangely paranoid over media coverage.

The organization, the Young Presidents Organization (YPO), is composed of the elite of the corporate world. The 550 delegates who were meeting in San Francisco's Fairmont and Stanford Court hotels described their secret group as an "international education association of 3,500 corporate presidents."

To qualify for membership in the YPO, one has to have become the chief executive of his company before the age of 40, provided that the company has annual sales of roughly $2 million.

Although on the surface the YPO convention appeared to be no different than other business conventions, nearly all of the delegates displayed a cloak-and-dagger attitude.

When asked to explain why their group was so secretive, YPO delegate Ben Gilgore explained very sharply, "Most businessmen prefer not to speak to newspaper people period, whether or not they're part of this organization."□



Supporters of AIM activist LEONARD PELTIER (right) gather in front of Milwaukee Safety Building where Peltier was recently acquitted on charges of attempted murder of two cops.



TO FIGHT OTHER CHARGES

A.I.M. LEADER LEONARD PELTIER ACQUITTED

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Leonard Peltier recently won a major court victory when he was acquitted on trumped-up charges of attempting to murder two off-duty Milwaukee cops.

After the jury, composed of six Blacks and six Whites, delivered the not guilty verdict, Peltier's supporters wept, embraced and cheered in the corridors of the courtroom which they had packed throughout the nine-day trial.

The attempted frame-up of the AIM activist was the focus of nationwide attention, with Peltier's supporters staging numerous mass rallies in Milwaukee before and during the trial.

The courtroom proceedings were attended by Native American spiritual leader Leonard Crow Dog, AIM activist Clyde Bellecourt and AIM National Chairman John Trudell.

Peltier was one of AIM's most capable organizers, leading the Wisconsin contingent to Washington, D.C., in 1972 in the "Trail of Broken Treaties" protest. Peltier's supporters charge that the AIM leader's participation in the Washington, D.C., protest, only two weeks before the Milwaukee incident, was the real motive for the attempted frame-up.

With the victory in Milwaukee, Peltier's supporters gained new impetus in the battle to win the AIM leader's release from Marion federal prison in Illinois, where he is serving two life terms for "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975. A new appeal hearing has tentatively been scheduled for March 2 in St. Louis.

In the Milwaukee trial, detailed testimony by two Native American women who witnessed the 1972 incident could not be refuted by the prosecution.

TEXAS RESTAURANT

Verla and Loretta Ford both testified that when they entered the Texas Restaurant on November 22, 1972, two men were laughing and gesturing and pointing at a table where Peltier and two companions were eating. They said that when Peltier and his companions went to pay their bill, the two men followed them.

A minute later, the Ford sisters testified, the door burst open as one of the men wrestled Peltier back inside the restaurant. The other man came in a moment later waving a gun around. It was only at this point that the men identified themselves as off-duty police officers.

Both women testified that the officers beat and kicked Peltier. The sisters said they and their companions followed as the cops led Peltier out of the restaurant and watched in horror as the

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RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN MURDER OF CHICANO

Federal Jury Convicts Ex-Houston Cops

(Houston, Tex.) - Three former Houston cops were convicted here last week for violating the rights of a Mexican-American prisoner, Jose Campos Torres, by beating him and throwing him into a downtown bayou where he drowned last May.

The three officers, Terry Denson, Stephen Orlando, and Joseph Janiste, were convicted on two counts of violating the civil rights of Torres, whose body was found floating in the Buffalo Bayou on May 8 of last year.

One of the counts, involving a violation of federal civil rights which results in death, is a felony, carrying a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

Federal prosecutors admit that this verdict was a compromise in that the defendants were not found guilty of additional charges that they had conspired to withhold information about the gruesome incident from a federal prosecutor.

Before reaching a verdict, an all-White jury had deliberated for over seven hours in what was an obvious case of gross police abuse.

The officers had already been convicted of negligent homicide,

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Members of Houston's Chicano community demonstrated against the ex-policemen responsible for the murder of Jose Campos Torres.



INDIANS BEGIN "LONGEST WALK"

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subculture. We negotiate treaties which somehow are not being enforced by the more powerful nation, the United States."

A fugitive from South Dakota, Banks is wanted for sentencing on his conviction on trumped-up charges in connection with the 1973 Custer Courthouse Indian uprising. California Governor Jerry Brown, however, has refused to extradite Banks. As a result of these circumstances, Banks was forced to drop out of the march when it neared the California border.

Banks said 24 persons have pledged to walk the entire distance but non-Indians may swell the ranks of walkers to 200 or 300 from time to time.

ALARMED

Meanwhile, Indian organizations throughout the country are alarmed by the recent upsurge of vocal, anti-Indian organizations in areas near Indian reservations, and the repercussions these groups are causing in the nation's capital, reports *Liberation News Service*.

Wassaja, a national Indian newspaper, describes supporters of these anti-Indian groups as "(non-Indian) residents of Indian reservations who feel threatened by the prospect of Indian self-government.

The paper also names "commercial fishermen [and] some sports fishermen who have been led to believe the Indian tribes threaten their fishing privileges."

Many groups in question belong to the "Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities." This multi-state organization includes mainly "well-financed farmers, ranchers, cattle interests, water interests, timber interests, energy interests, hunting and fishing interests."

These organizations, according to *Wassaja*, have found sympathetic ears in Washington — most notably Washington state veteran Representative Lloyd Meeds and first-termer John Cunningham.

A bill introduced by Meeds in November amounts to a broadside attack on Indian water rights. The Quantification of Federal Reserved Water Rights for Indian Reservations Act (H.R.9951) provides that tribal water rights be limited to the maximum amount of water the tribe has used annually during the last five years.





Native Americans, angered by the introduction of 11 anti-Indian bills in Congress and the rise of anti-Indian groups, have begun "The Longest Walk" to Washington to demand their rights.

Since in many cases, tribes are currently able to use only a small fraction of their legal entitlement because of the federal government's past and continuing failure to enforce their treaty rights, the bill would in effect ratify the theft of Indian water that has already taken place.

A long line of Supreme Court decisions stretching back to the 1908 case of *Winters vs. U.S.* has repeatedly held that Indian tribes are entitled to enough water to make their reservations viable.

However, the development of coal and other natural resources in the West is impossible without water, and many energy corporations now view Indian reservations as the last remaining source of uncommitted water.

On the same day he introduced the water bill, Meeds introduced another — the Omnibus Indian Jurisdiction Act of 1977 (H.R.9950) — that would limit the rights of tribes to exercise legal jurisdiction on their reservations.

Although least likely to become law, the intentions of Cunningham's bill, H.R.9054, is the most ominous.

"It is the hope of Congressman Cunningham that Indians will no longer be super-citizens in the U.S...that they'll all be brought into the mainstream of American society," says Bruce Addison, Cunningham's legislative assistant.

The bill would also end what Addison described as the system of "Indian welfarism where Indians [are] protected from cradle to grave through different health programs, different education programs, and housing programs."

The facts contradict Addison's assumptions, however. For example, the average income for Indian families on reservations is $1,500, unemployment is 45 per cent and the average number of years of schooling is only eight, according to government figures.□

Leonard Peltier Acquitted

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took turns beating Peltier while his hands were cuffed behind him.

Loretta Ford testified that after Peltier was placed in the back of a paddy wagon, "it looked like it was going to tip over. . .It was rocking from side to side. We could hear them scuffling. . .We just were all yelling or crying. . .I never saw anything like that before."

Peltier was charged with two counts of attempted murder in the incident. Ronald Hlavinka and James Eccel, the two off-duty officers (both of whom have quit the police force), claimed Peltier drew a gun and pulled the trigger after they had left the restaurant but it didn't fire.

The Ford sisters said that the only gun they saw was in the hands of one of the officers.

Under cross-examination, both Eccel and Hlavinka said that they had had "several" drinks before going to the restaurant. Hlavinka's hands were so swollen from beating Peltier that he missed three days of work because of it.

The role of the FBI in this case has come out in the courtroom. Contrary to standard procedure, the FBI, and not the Milwaukee police, interrogated witnesses in January, 1976, including Hlavinka and Eccel. Hlavinka said that the FBI never talked to him around the time of the incident, but a defense witness who was once engaged to Hlavinka challenged his story.

In a recent letter from prison Peltier said, "The U.S. thinks it can stop our movement by locking us in cells, but they're wrong." Despite six years of legal persecution, Peltier said in a recent inteview, "I have made a commitment. . .to keep fighting until we win self-determination and sovereignty."□

BLACK ACTIVIST SEEKS SUPPORT FOR KENTUCKY STRIKE

MINERS' COUNCIL REJECTS COAL PACT

(Washington, D.C.) - The bargaining council of the United Mine Workers (UMW) last week overwhelmingly rejected a proposed settlement of the nationwide coal strike in the face of widespread opposition by rank-and-file miners to provisions aimed at ending wildcat strikes.

The action occurred on the 69th day of the longest coal strike in the nation's history, one day after the Carter administration had ordered that plans be drawn up for emergency movement of coal to areas running critically short of fuel needed to produce electric power.

The contract was rejected by a 30-6 vote, with three members of the 39-member UMW council absent.

FEARED FOR LIFE

Claiming that he feared for his life, UMW President Arnold Miller delayed defending the contract at an earlier session of the council.

"I'm not going to present this contract to the council under conditions of mob rule," Miller said after telephoning the *Associated Press* from his home.

The "mob rule" Miller spoke of consisted of a demonstration by about 200 rank-and-file union members demanding rejection of the contract. They filled the lobby and stairway of the union headquarters, but left the building when asked to.

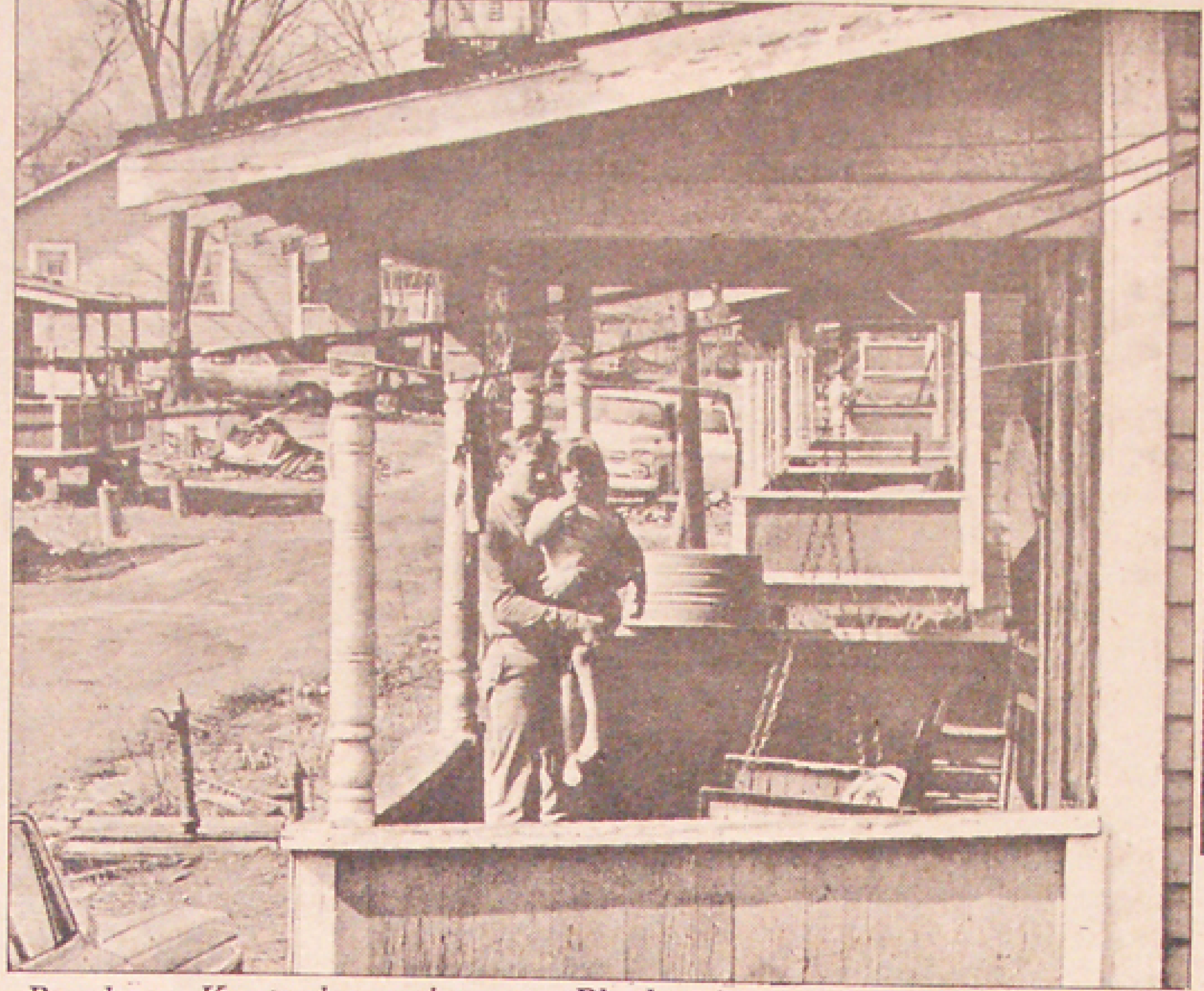
A straw vote later in the day by the bargaining council produced a 33-3 rejection of the proposed pact.

Miller has been under attack in the coal fields for agreeing to an industry proposal that would fine miners as much as $22 a day for engaging in wildcat work stoppages over safety and other local grievances.

UMW Vice President Sam Church said wage provisions of the contract appeared to be "generally acceptable" to the miners but they objected to provisions dealing with disciplinary procedures and the health and retirement funds.

The Carter administration met February 11 to draw up plans aimed at ensuring continued coal supplies for Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana and Pennsylvania, the four states hardest hit by the strike.

Department of Energy spokesman Frank Kelly said coal stockpiles at some utilities in the four states were as low as a 21-day supply.







Rundown Kentucky coal camp. Black miner-activist BILL WORTHINGTON (top, right) is organizing support for a coal miners' strike in Stearns, Kentucky.

Meanwhile, Black labor activist Bill Worthington, a leader of United Mine Workers in eastern Kentucky, was in the Bay Area recently in an attempt to gain support for the 17-month-old coal miners strike in Stearns, Kentucky, which has turned into a pitched, armed battle.

Bill Worthington takes stairs slowly. "It's not my age," he says. It's black lung, pneumoconiosis. A miner's chance of getting it after more than 20 years underground are 90 per cent. Worthington has been a miner for 33 years.

The Black miner recently toured northern California on behalf of the Stearns strikers. The miners have been out 17 months in an effort to win a union contract. The Blue Diamond Coal Company owns the mine and refused to negotiate with the 200 miners. No coal is moving and a strike leader says they'll stay out "until hell freezes over, thaws and freezes over again."

The media and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association

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"MILL WORKERS NEED PROTECTION"

Threads Of Discontent: Trouble In Textile Industry

(New York, N.Y.) - Otis Edwards is Black, 67, retired and has brown lung, a respiratory disease. He spent 44 years working in cotton mills in North Carolina, first outside shovelling coal, then inside loading dye kettles, and finally, the last 23 years before he retired, cleaning cotton and lint dust off the carding machines for the J.P. Stevens Company in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

He saw World War II come, White male workers drafted into the armed forces, and White women drafted into the mills to fill the labor gap. If there were any jobs left, and there usually were in the cleaning and maintenance category, Black workers got them.

Edwards was at work in the mill in July of 1965 when the Civil Rights act of 1964 went into effect. The impact was immediate. Says Edwards, "They closed down all the departments and held a meeting. They said... all would use the same bathroom."

In the South it meant allowing Black workers to help White workers load dye kettles, or allowing Blacks to work in the same area as Whites. Segregation died hard.

It also meant a small increase in pay. At the Stevens mill, Edwards' annual salary went from $4,000 to $5,000 between 1971 and 1973. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) had a lot to do with the changes.

When the ACTWU made the J.P. Stevens Roanoke Rapids mills the first target of its efforts to unionize Southern textile workers in 1963, Black workers were ready to listen, and responded in far greater numbers than Whites:

"Mill workers need protection," says Edwards. "They need a union, especially Blacks. In fact, if it wasn't for Black workers

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New York City demonstration in support of J.P. Stevens boycott.

Malcolm X

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ca — and the Black people all over this earth! Because it is as this collective mass of Black people that we have been deprived not only of our civil rights, but even of our human rights, the right to human dignity. . . ."

My thinking had been opened up wide in Mecca. In the long letters I wrote to friends, I tried to convey to them my new insights into the American Black man's struggle and his problems, as well as the depths of my search for truth and justice.

"I've had enough of someone else's propaganda," I had written to these friends. "I'm for truth, no matter who tells it. I'm for justice, no matter who it is for or against. I'm a human being first and foremost, and as such I'm for whoever and whatever benefits humanity *as a whole.*"

Largely, the American White man's press refused to convey that I was now attempting to teach Negroes a new direction. With the 1964 "long, hot summer" steadily producing new incidents, I was constantly accused of "stirring up Negroes." Every time I had another radio or television microphone at my mouth, when I was asked about "stirring up Negroes" or "inciting violence," I'd get hot.

DYNAMITE

"It takes no one to stir up the sociological dynamite that stems from the unemployment, bad housing, and inferior education already in the ghettoes. This explosively criminal condition has existed for so long, it needs no fuse; it fuses itself; it spontaneously combusts from within itself. . . ."

They called me "the angriest Negro in America." I wouldn't deny that charge. I spoke exactly as I felt. "I *believe* in anger. The Bible says there is a *time* for anger." They called me "a teacher, a fomenter of violence." I would say point blank, "That is a lie. I'm not for wanton violence, I'm for justice. I feel that if White people were attacked by Negroes — if the forces of law prove unable, or inadequate, or reluctant to protect those Whites from those Negroes — then those White people should protect and defend themselves from those Negroes, using arms if necessary. And I feel that when the law fails to protect Negroes from Whites' attack, then those Negroes should use arms, if necessary, to defend themselves."

"Malcolm X Advocates Armed Negroes!"

What was wrong with that? I'll tell you what was wrong. I was a Black man talking about physical defense against the White man. The White man can lynch and burn and bomb and beat Negroes — that's all right: "Have patience". . ."The customs are entrenched". . ."Things are getting better."

I tried in every speech I made to clarify my new position regarding White people — "I don't speak against the sincere, well-meaning, good White people. I have learned that there *are* some. I have learned that not all White people are racists. I am speaking against and my fight is against the White racists. I firmly believe that Negroes have the right to fight against these racists, by any means that are necessary."

But the White reporters kept wanting me linked with that word "violence." I doubt if I had one interview without having to deal with that accusation.

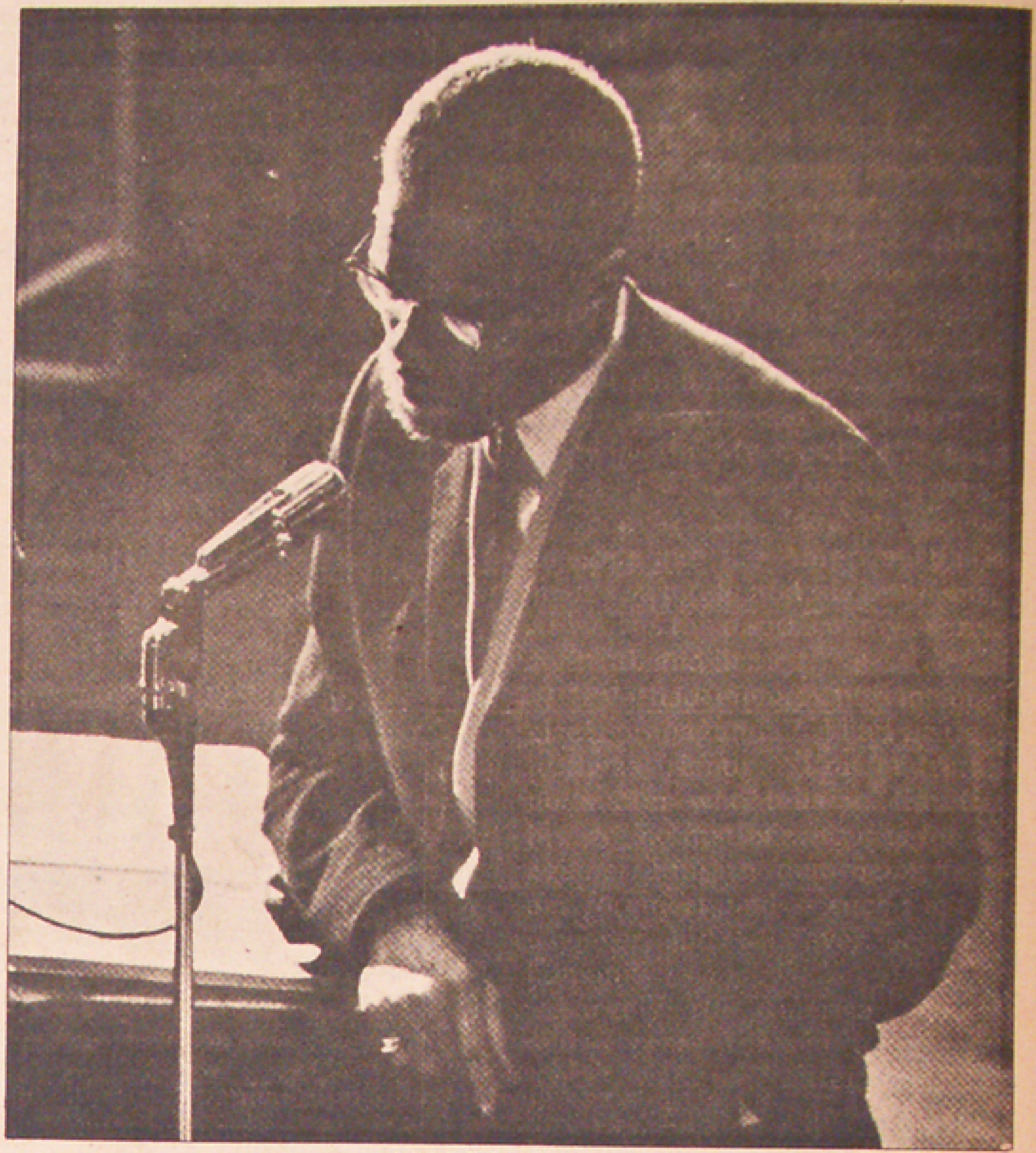
VIOLENCE

"I *am* for violence if non-violence means we continue postponing a solution to the American Black man's problem — just to *avoid* violence. I don't go for non-violence if it also means a delayed solution. To me a delayed solution is a non-solution. Or I'll say it another way. If it must take violence to get the Black man his human rights in this country, I'm for violence exactly as you know the Irish, the Poles, or Jews would be if they were flagrantly discriminated against. I am just as they would be in that case, and they would be for violence — no matter what the consequences, no matter who was hurt by the violence."

White society *hates* to hear anybody, especially a Black man, talk about the crime the White man has perpetrated on the Black man. I have always understood that's why I have been so frequently called "a revolutionist." It sounds as if I have done some crime! Well, it may be the American Black man does need to become involved in a *real* revolution.

Sometimes, I have dared to dream to myself that one day, history may even say that my voice — which disturbed the White man's smugness, and his arrogance, and his complacency — that my voice helped to save America from a grave, possibly even a fatal catastrophe.

The goal has always been the same, with the approaches to it as different as mine and Dr. Martin Luther King's non-violent marching, that dramatizes the brutality and the evil of the White man against defenseless Blacks. And in the racial climate of this country today, it is anybody's



MALCOLM X.

guess which of the "extremes" in approach to the Black man's problems might *personally* meet a fatal catastrophe first — "non-violent" Dr. King, or so-called "violent" me.

Every morning when I wake up, now, I regard it as having another borrowed day. In any city, wherever I go, making speeches, holding meetings of my organization, or attending to other business, Black men are watching every move I make, awaiting their chance to kill me.

SUDDENLY DIE

I know, too, that I could suddenly die at the hands of some White racists. Or I could die at the hands of some Negro hired by the White man. Or it could be some brainwashed Negro acting on his own idea that by eliminating me he would be helping out the White man, because I talk about the White man the way I do.

Anyway, now, each day I live as if I am already dead, and I tell you what I would like for you to do. When I am dead — I say it that way because from the things I *know*, I do not expect to live long enough to read this book in its finished form — I want you to just watch and see if I'm not right in what I say: that the White man, in his press, is going to identify me with "hate."

He will make use of me dead, as he has made use of me alive, as a convenient symbol of "hatred" — and that will help him to escape facing the truth that all I have been doing is holding up a mirror to reflect, to show, the history of unspeakable crimes that his race has committed against my race.

You watch. I will be labeled as, at best, an "irresponsible" Black man. I have always felt about this accusation that the Black "leader" whom White men consider to be "responsible" is invaribly the Black "leader" who never gets any results. You only get action as a Black man if you are regarded by the White man as "irresponsible." In fact, this much I had learned when I was just a little boy.

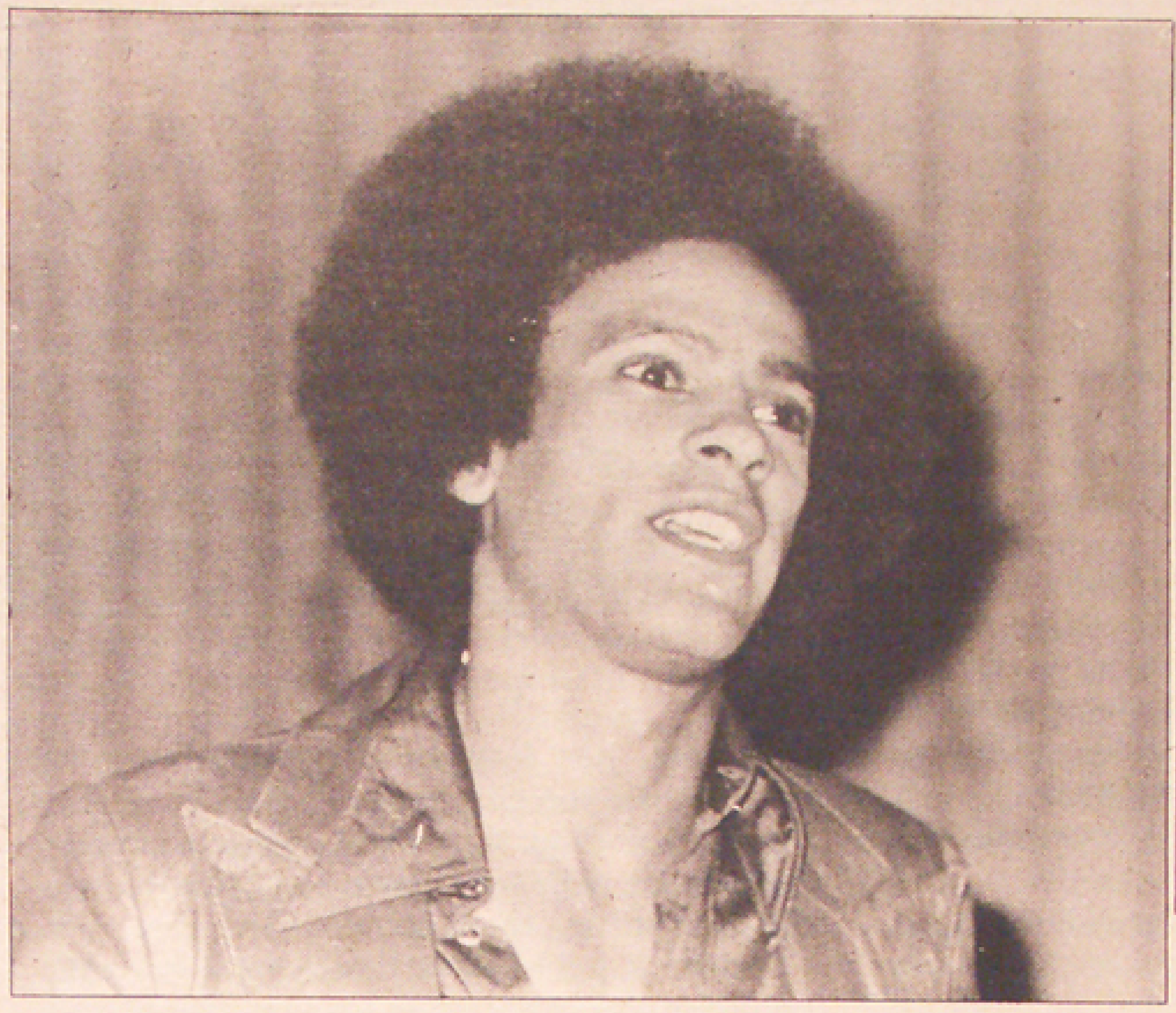
And since I have been some kind of a "leader" of Black people here in the racist society of America, I have been more reassured each time the White man resisted me, or attacked me harder — because each time made me more certain that I was on the right track in the American Black man's best interests. The racist White man's opposition automatically made me know that I did offer the Black man something worthwhile.

Yes, I have cherished my "demagogue" role. I know that societies often have killed the people who have helped to change those societies. And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America — then, all of the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine. □

Oui Magazine Interview With Black Panther Party President

A CONVERSATION WITH HUEY P. NEWTON

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints an in-depth interview conducted by Oui *magazine with Black Panther Party President, Founder and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton, who will celebrate his 36th birthday on February 17.*





BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON.

QUESTION: What pressures prompted you to flee the U.S. in 1974?

HUEY: Well, first of all I was informed that there was a ten-thousand dollar contract out on my life. And the source of the information was a strange one — the police chief of Oakland, Charles Gain. He said it in a statement to my attorney.

Q: Why did he tell you this?

HUEY: You'd have to ask him. Who knows what tangle of motives he could have had? The source of the contract, apparently, was the narcotics dealers of Oakland. They were very upset by the Panthers' campaign against heroin. This is what friends in the community told me. We got very little information out of Gain — only the promise that he would investigate further.

WORST PROBLEM

But the worst problem, in some ways, wasn't the contract. I had been tailed for most of my adult life, and the effect was both exhausting and terrifying. People think you're being paranoid when you describe these situations to them. FBI agents would tail me everywhere — into a grocery store or doughnut shop. When they followed me in a car, it was always bumper-to-bumper. This wasn't just local. This was everywhere. Their blatant lack of discretion would be difficult to exaggerate. When I arrived in Cuba, one of the difficulties of adjustment was that virtually for the first time in my life I wasn't being followed. It took a while for me to relax and drop my continual vigilance.

Q: You didn't meet Castro while you were in Cuba. Why not?

HUEY: I didn't ask to meet him and I guess he didn't ask to meet me, which is just fine. I think it's very impolite to go into someone's country and ask to meet their head of state. The question never came up really, but I think that after Robert Williams, Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver all denounced Cuba, the government was somewhat apprehensive about giving too much exposure to the so-called North American revolutionaries.

Q: Did you feel welcome in Cuba?

HUEY: Yes. When I first got there, they gave me a grand tour of the provinces, showed me all the schools and universities, construction sites, clinics, dams, and coffee and sugar production. They offered me a job as a university teacher, but I preferred to work in a cement factory.

Q: Why?

HUEY: Primarily to enhance my own understanding of the people. It was essentially a very good experience. Hard labor in Cuba is a very different thing from hard labor in the United States. In Cuba, a job is not only a job; it also becomes the very center of communication. We ended up spending weekends at the beach with our co-workers, who were like an extended family. When our toilet broke down, for example, I immediately went into a panic. I asked my wife, "Who do we call? Where is the central agency? What do we do?" When we explained our problem to the people who shared our apartment building, they told us to report the problem to our fellow workers. I did, and some of the workers who knew about plumbing came out and repaired the toilet. I asked if I should pay. They said, "No, but when something breaks down in our home we would like you to help us." I had undergone the collective experience.

Q: Do you think that the reason this could not work here is because of our form of government, or because Americans have a history of isolating themselves from each other?

HUEY: Both interreact to the point of being inseparable. If you create an environment where people are taught that they must supersede others in order to be happy, that will naturally breed mutual alienation. If you create an environment where people depend on each other, an environment where you promote cooperation rather than competition, then people will behave in a different way.

Q: But there are managers or "bosses" in Cuba, too.

HUEY: Yes, but the chief function of these managers is to do the administrative work. If changes are made on the job, it's done only with the consent of the workers.

Q: Is there a disparity in income between manager and worker?

HUEY: There is a difference in pay scales, but the difference isn't great: the lowest pay is 120 pesos a month, the highest is 400. Fidel gets 400. The average is roughly 250. I earned about 220.

Q: Are those who earn 150 a month envious of those who earn 250?

HUEY: Well, each job provides a school; the worker can go to school for two hours, three days a week, and promote himself in his job area. There is some competition, obviously, but it's not like it is here. The framework of the competition is friendlier. First of all, everyone is able to get his basic food. For a family of four you spend about 27 pesos a month. Rationing limits the extent of competition. I liked Cuba. You don't have the developed sense of community here. It's hard to communicate the reasons why the Cuban people can feel so much joy in long hours of work with so little pay.

Q: Why did you choose to live in Cuba rather than China?

HUEY: The Chinese culture is too different. I didn't feel at home when I visited China, although I appreciated what they share together. I appreciated the socialist state.

Q: Why didn't you get to meet with Mao?

HUEY: I had gone to China about six months before Richard Nixon. I had about four visits planned with Mao, but they kept on being cancelled because Western reporters would say that my planned talks with Mao would interfere with the planned Nixon visit. The Chinese would ask me why. I think that the U.S. is every bit as weird to them as China is to the U.S. At any rate, they decided to schedule a visit with Chou En-lai instead. He was a very intelligent, witty old man and was very curious as to how I had managed to survive in America. He complimented me for being courageous.

Q: Did you miss the Panther community while you were in Cuba?

HUEY: Yes, but I have developed "interior resources," and my comrades are always with me. It's the simple reality of having shared difficult experiences with people. Share them and you find the exchange continues.

Q: Did you think about returning to America all the time you were there?

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

A CONVERSATION WITH HUEY P. NEWTON

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

HUEY: Absolutely. Cuba was a good experience, but it was also difficult being in exile. This is my home.

Q: Didn't you arrive in Cuba on a rubber raft?

HUEY: Yes, but I don't want to talk about that experience. I'm saving it for my book.

Q: Do you think that the United States has changed enough in the last three years to provide you with a fair trial?

HUEY: I don't think a *fair* trial is in the realm of possibility after having an eighty-thousand-dollar bail inflicted on me. But, yes, I do hope to be acquitted. I think that the United States has changed enough that people are at least somewhat aware that the police can commit crimes, that the FBI and CIA can spy on private individuals, that the Armed Forces are a bastion of crazy people.

Watergate and Vietnam have altered America's awareness. Unfortunately, however, Americans feel helpless when they're stripped of their idealism. They have grown so accustomed to thinking everything is OK that when they find out it isn't, they give up.

Q: What difficulties do you face with the upcoming trial?

HUEY: I keep finding out more all the time. It's shocking, actually. There are the letters that different agencies put into circulation to discredit me. I've also discovered that a group of retired policemen from Berkeley and Oakland have banded together to get me. I found this out when I first got here. A friend — a very conservative woman whose family has police affiliations — told me about it. This is one example of how the U.S. has changed. A few years ago, she would have kept this to herself. But awareness of what has been afoot in America has definitely changed her consciousness. I also heard that the FBI was trying to use this police cellgroup.

Q: Why this "cell-group" of policemen, as you call it?

HUEY: You have to remember that there are bitter wounds from the Sixties that still haven't healed. Just a week ago the chief of police of Oakland [George Hart] was on television explaining that he understood that there was a cell of the Klan in the Oakland Police Department that had become active again. They were passing leaflets around in the locker room. I also think that there is a squad of retired police officers who are dedicated to tracking me and assassinating me. They hold me responsible for the whole free-speech movement in the Sixties, and of course I'm a chief target because [my case decision] was reversed and eventually dismissed on the accusation of killing a White police officer.

Q: Do you think the same forces are responsible for what happened in Richmond, California, where a person linked to you was shot while attempting to break into a house next door to a witness who was scheduled to testify against you?

HUEY: That's possible. A lot of things could have happened. It might have been a group of people who left the party a few weeks ago. Some of them opposed my coming back, and they couldn't stand another drain. Eighty thousand dollars in bail is a real financial drain on the party, on our whole standing in the community. Some people left because they



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON addresses cheering supporters at the San Francisco Airport upon his triumphant return to the Bay Area on July 3, 1977.

were tired, just fatigued after sacrificing so much of their personal lives.

Q: Do you think they were trying to protect you in some sick way? Or were there agents who were putting them up to this?

HUEY: It could have been anything. My posture in the party while I was in prison was to eliminate the line of armed combat, and as a result many people left the party. Now I think that the conditions require that we take a different posture. Some people in the party disagree with my coming back and going through the judicial process. So it could have been people who disagree with my actions, or it could have been police involvement. It could have been people trying to make my case look bad, I don't know. I have never helped the authorities to do their job. We haven't had institutions that can give justice, so it's hard for me to even speculate about it. Let them bring charges against someone and let them try to solve that.

Q: Do you think this signifies that the authorities' attitude about you has returned to normal?

HUEY: Yes. They won't rest until I'm dead or in prison.

Q: So, are you again fearful for your life? Did you anticipate this when you came back from Cuba?

HUEY: Yes. But it's not a matter of fear. I'm conscious enough to know that nobody gets out of life alive, and that I won't and nobody else will. I always try to laugh at the funny things that happen on the way to the grave. I'm not afraid, because I'm cautious. I want to hang on to this form of existence as long as I can, but I'm aware that there's danger, so I watch what they're doing.

Q: Are you being followed now?

HUEY: No, not that I can tell, and that's sort of odd. Maybe it's because their technology has gotten so advanced that they're using satellites or something. I've come to the point where my joke is, "I want my tail back — at least then I can *see* what's following me."

Q: Is there any possibility that you would jump bail?

HUEY: No. I think it would be ridiculous for me to return only to split again. There's no way, no possibility that I would leave the U.S.

Q: Was part of the reason you returned to the United States the hundred-million dollar lawsuit against the FBI and CIA?

HUEY: To some degree. But the main thing is that people are more conscious. Before, no matter how loudly we screamed, there was a sort of deafness. I don't even depend on the documentation that exists to extricate me. I believe that, based on the evidence and admissions of the last ten years, the American people are capable of understanding what the police can and will do. America may know for the first time how the police are capable of murder. If I can help prove it — good.

Q: Do you think that without the intervention of the FBI and CIA the split with Cleaver might not have happened?

HUEY: I don't know. There was definitely all sorts of government activity in that direction. The FBI has never ceased to amaze me with their audacity. I found that there was a directive to open large bank accounts, withdraw funds and send check stubs around to my supporters to show I was living high on the hog. The FBI also sent letters to party members and friends, just after I got out of jail in 1970, saying that I had been released for the purposes of being an



informer. The very fact that I, a Black man, was being released from jail — especially with the charges against me — made me look very suspicious. I have never read an account in history where a Black man in the North or South was accused of killing a White policeman and set free.

DOUBTS

So you have to understand that the doubts people had about me were very real. I think they were based much more on fear than rivalry. I did feel hurt by Eldridge, though. If I had received a letter accusing him of acting against the interests of the party, I would have gone to him about it. That is what friendship is all about. I was aware that people were talking about a split, so I arranged to go on TV with a hookup of Eldridge in Algeria to squelch the rumor the government was circulating. But there was Eldridge, denouncing me. Maybe he never was my friend.

Q: What happened with Bobby Seale? He left the party under mysterious circumstances a couple of years ago, and no one knows why.

HUEY: It's as much of a mystery to me, actually. He didn't talk to me about it beforehand — I guess the pressure was such that he didn't feel he could, and that was very sad to me. I wished we could have talked about it, but he felt otherwise. It's one of a number of things that have made me sad over the years — I guess I'm a very sad person, all in all.

Q: Did these incidents change how you felt about other fellow party members?

HUEY: Of course there was a very heavy emotional reaction. Trust is hard to achieve. But if you stop having faith in the people you work with, you're just cutting yourself off. There's a very delicate balance between self-reliance and mutual dependence that you have to learn to maintain. And when you are betrayed, you see that the betrayer has lost a very human connection. You feel a little sorry for them. Their betrayal has deprived *them* of the job of being able to trust.

Q: You appear a great deal less angry than you were ten years ago.

HUEY: I'm much more aware of the contradictions, the conflicts of interests, the contradictions inside myself and the contradictions in other people. It's taught me to be less harsh with others, to not regard them as lesser than myself. I find their difficulties inside myself, too. I understand now that people don't consciously work against their own



HUEY P. NEWTON with children of Oakland Community School (left) and young supporters and brother LEE EDWARD (right) at recent court hearing.



Young admirers surround HUEY P. NEWTON at a reception honoring his homecoming held at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

interests. Many times, people work against their interests unconsciously. The primary problem is to lift consciousness. This doesn't necessarily preclude violence, but we try very hard to resolve problems in a different way. And when we have to hurt somebody, it's an act of tremendous sadness — you are damaging yourself, your extended self, a part of your own organism.

Q: Is this change in attitude reflected in the party's policies?

HUEY: I wouldn't call it a change in attitude as much as a shift in emphasis. And I would qualify this further by going back to the very beginning, when we were patrolling the police force of Oakland in the mid-Sixties. We had guns, but they were registered. And we had books — legal books — that were just as much a part of our neighborhood protective policies as the guns. Many news reports said that the Black Panther Party wanted to kill the police. That was nonsense. Our intentions were to keep the police from misusing their tremendous power over the neighborhoods. Along with the defense programs, as we called them, we had the breakfast program, the drive to eliminate sickle-cell anemia — where we tested over a half-million people— and all of these things were overlooked. They had little dramatic value. Yet, if you read the FBI files, you see that Hoover's statement is that the Panthers' Breakfast for Children program was the most threatening single element about us — more than our guns — because it was so effective in the community. In Hoover's eyes, it was a form of infiltration.

Q: Why do you think you were his main target?

HUEY: I don't think it was me. I think it was the party.

Q: But doesn't the FBI perceive a party or movement in terms of leadership? Their strategy has been to force a group to disperse by destroying its leadership.

HUEY: That's one of our main problems to this day. I've always wondered why it was directed with such intensity at me. It's not logical.

Q: When you started roaming the streets of Oakland for your defense program, did you forsee that they were going to jack you up, put you in jail, try to kill you?

HUEY: I thought it might happen.

Q: Did your family get harassed by the FBI?

HUEY: They received some threats but, fortunately, did not receive the treatment I feared they might. It wasn't a long, grinding form of harassment that some people's families have undergone.

Q: Did your family eventually reconcile themselves to your stance?

HUEY: After I was arrested they unbent somewhat. My mother and father told other people that they supported my act, and it got back to me. Eventually they told me themselves. But it was difficult for them. I was moving in direct violation of their plans. They wanted me to go to music school, to go through law school, and I never fell in line. They had interpreted it as ingratitude when I railed against their plans.

Q: What struck you as wrong in these plans of your parents?

HUEY: They really didn't take into account a fundamental racism in our society that changes very slowly. We were poor. Those at the bottom strive to get out of the degradation and pain, but America has yet to develop a place for them to go. There is a sort of stairstep, mobile system for Whites to make the transition from one class to another. Nothing like it exists for Black Americans. Those few Blacks who get ahead are never really assimilated. They forget the old ways to learn the new, but in reality aren't accepted anywhere. Even though they get ahead, a line is eventually drawn somewhere, beyond which they cannot pass. Education becomes a form of alienation. An ambitious project or an adequate income cease being tools and become just another form of loneliness.

Q: But you went to college.

HUEY: Yes, but I did it on my own time. But I never forget how estranging academia can be, how absurd it often is.

Q: How did jail affect your thinking?

HUEY: I think I'm still finding that out; I'll be finding that out for the rest of my life. Certainly, spending three years in solitary confinement taught me the value of meditation.

Q: Was this the point where you were introduced to Zen Buddhism?

HUEY: I'm not sure I have ever been introduced to Zen Buddhism. I don't know if I understand Zen. After I got out of jail, I met Roshi Dick Baker and Baba Ram Dass, and we had a furious debate by correspondence. It started when Dick Baker kept pointing out to me that my way of putting things was essentially Christian. Ram Dass said, 'No, he isn't Christian; he's just alienated.' Of course, this worried me. No one wants to be alienated.

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A CONVERSATION WITH HUEY P. NEWTON

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

So we started corresponding, Ram Dass and I. Somewhere along the line he decided that I wasn't alienated, because I started getting messages back from people who attended his lecture tours, saying that Ram Dass was saying positive things about me. But I don't know about Zen.

Q: Didn't Dick Baker say that you had achieved meditative states after he read your book *Revolutionary Sucide?*

HUEY: Yes, but I had to achieve some insight into myself or get crushed by the experience of solitary confinement. It was an either/or situation. But these ideas about meditation strike me as rather luxurious. It seemed to me that Dick Baker was trying to interpret my necessities according to his lights. I don't know if it was meditation or not. Baker kept on saying that I could not have achieved my insights without meditation. I kept on saying that I didn't use meditation. Then Baker would say that only saints don't need to meditate, and asked if I thought that I was a saint. This really bugged me. I never meditated but I'm not a saint. But Dick Baker and I understand each other pretty well, given the difference in vocabulary. And he does have a personal serenity that strikes me as an achievement.

Q: How would you describe your own religious perceptions?

HUEY: Well, I haven't developed a personal serenity. There have been times that I felt an absolute freedom, but — it's funny — each time I've experienced this, I thought it was absolute and permanent, and the whole sense would then vanish or last only a day or two at best. Then I'd start asking questions again. And as a matter of fact, I was in a greater state of anxiety after each one of these experiences than I was before I had them. I'm told that it's hard for an activist to understand the absurdity of activity. Baker said that I was hung up on action. I think nonaction is perfectly valid — if you're in solitary confinement. What I learned in solitary confinement I use as I use all of my experience — as a piece of equipment in battle.

Q: In short, you see meditation itself as a means to an end, where Baker sees it as an end itself.

HUEY: Well, that simplifies things. I'll put it this way: All the samurai were Buddhist but not all Buddhists were samurai. The way my exposure to Zen helped me was that it showed me that you don't move in anger, that you don't destroy for the sake of destruction. The universal understanding of oneness that Buddhists talk about is not much different from the Marxist definition of the universe as something dialectically interconnected. Both Buddhism and Marxism have accounts of the struggle of opposites based on the eternal contradiction of emotion and matter. Both imply that the individual ego is something that can become cancerous and destructive.

Q: Do you then consider yourself a fundamentally nonviolent person?

HUEY: Existence is violent; I exist; I'm violent in that way. The thing we are going to have to learn is how to turn work into creativity, play, entertainment. We must learn to entertain ourselves — entertainment is redirected violence. It comes from violence, from the vital, directed forces, but it isn't a diminishment. The thing to do is to create a situation that enlarges rather than diminishes. But it's hypocritical, too, to pretend that existence is not violent. It's hypocritical — the way vegetarians are hypocritical. They think they aren't harming anything, but a carrot screams too.

Q: How do you account for the disparity between public image and private man? When you were first released from jail in 1970 you were a hero — "Free Huey" had been the battle cry for two years. You then went on a college lecture tour, and you lectured on Hegel and Immanuel Kant. You were expected to be a flaming rhetorician and here you were giving an introductory philosophy course.

HUEY: I really don't know. I'm not really an outgoing person. I'm not very charismatic. I'm not a good speaker and I'm a rather shy individual. I never did anything very herolike. I just worked on community programs.

Q: C'mon, you were the hero to millions when you got out of jail in 1970...

HUEY: Yeah, they freed Huey and then they wanted Huey to free them. But all the time, I wanted them to *know* that they freed Huey — to know their own power — so that they could free themselves. I would have been put in the gas chamber if they hadn't freed me. This *was* the power of the people; I never claimed any power in the whole thing. When I was lecturing, it was a real letdown. I was trying to teach — which means giving what you have and letting others draw their own conclusions from it — and this is very hard to do with a big crowd of people. The campus lecture tour was the worst experience I have had in my life. I lost fifty pounds during that time.

Q: Five or ten years ago it would have been impossible to imagine the chairperson of the BPP running for mayor of Oakland, or Elaine Brown becoming one of Governor Jerry Brown's delegates at the 1976 Democratic Convention. What's behind this shift?

HUEY: It's certainly not because of a fundamental shift in our political goals, which are socialist. Nor have we become a part of the Democratic Party's machinery. If there has been a shift, it's in the fact that we have one of the best organized local parties in the U.S. We have had to make some changes in tactics, but our goal has always been simply one of people gaining control over their community, and we're trying to do that now. The kind of unemployment we have now in the Black communities — it's really a form of fascism, and that's a term we don't throw around lightly these days.

Q: Do you think that the school has much to do with the Panthers' gaining respectability?

HUEY: It may. A large corporation in Oakland gave us three thousand dollars and said we had the best private school in the area.

Q: Do you plan to extend it to a high school?

HUEY: Well, the kids who graduate at the age of twelve have finished high school; the school program is a tough, accelerated one. The next step is to create a university.

Q: What's next for you and the party in terms of programs?

HUEY: We think socialism is necessary. At this time we demand full employment, and people believe that they can be fully employed under capitalism; so we push for that, as a way of proving that the system can't possibly accommodate full employment. And we push for it in the belief that the changes we envision will become tangible.





HUEY P. NEWTON with defense team (above) and wife GWEN (below).



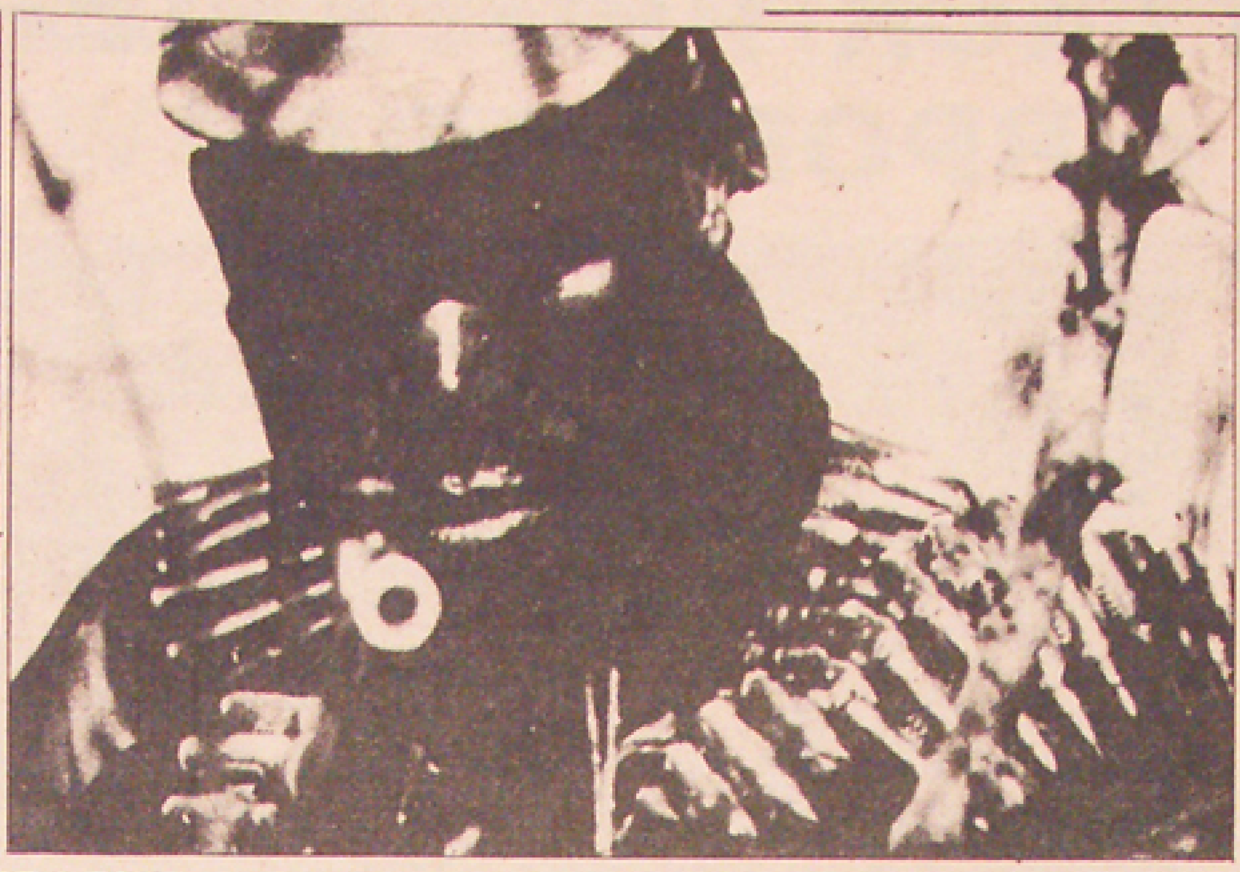
Q: Do you feel you've been typecast as a revolutionary?

HUEY: Yes. I think that since October of 1966, when the party formed, it's been very difficult for me to do the things that I would like, because people accepted the image that they made and they could never accept me doing many of the things that I think are important. They're afraid. Politicians are afraid to communicate and civic leaders are afraid to socialize, so they put me in a box. Since I've come back, I've really become aware for the first time that I'll never get out of that box. But it doesn't cause me too many problems any more. □

Intercommunal News



TIRIVAFI KANGAI, ZANU chief representative in the U.S., spoke in San Francisco last week, declaring that the Patriotic Front "has the enemy on the run" in Rhodesia.





TIRIVAFI KANGAI AT BAY AREA ZIMBABWE FUNDRAISER

Z.A.N.U. REP.—"WE WILL CRUSH THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Declaring that "we have the enemy on the run," Tirivafi Kangai, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) chief representative in the United States, told a cheering crowd here last week that "total political power in Zimbabwe must be surrendered to the Patriotic Front."

Kangai's remarks came in a keynote speech at a benefit held at Everett Junior High School on Friday, February 10, and sponsored by the Zimbabwe Medical Drive Coalition (ZMDC). The ZMDC is a broadbased organization of Bay Area Black community and other progressive groups and individuals which is seeking to raise $50,000 to purchase badly needed medical supplies for the Zimbabwean people and the armed forces of the Patriotic Front.

It was Kangai's first time back in the Bay Area since his appointment last June as ZANU chief representative in the U.S. Prior to his new position, which necessitated a move to New York City, the popular young ZANU Central Committee member served ably as ZANU's Bay Area representative.

The theme of the evening's program was a "Night of Solidarity with the People of Zimbabwe." Messages of solidarity were delivered by Cecilia Guido, representing Non-Intervention in Nicaragua; Steven Guerra, national coordinator of the National Committee Against Grand Jury Repression; and Paul Smith, well known Bay Area activist in the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The Liberation Support Movement (LSM) presented an educational slide show detailing the current situation in Rhodesia, focusing on the numerous vicious attacks staged on Zimbabwean refugee camps in Mozambique by the Ian Smith regime.

Receiving a cheering, standing ovation, Kangai began by thanking the ZMDC for initiating the Medical Drive. Emphasizing the need for the Drive the ZANU chief U.S. representative explained:

"The people in our refugee camps in Mozambique are children, and old and defenseless people who ran away from Zimbabwe because their homes were destroyed by the rebel, minority, fascist Ian Smith regime.

"I call upon the Hispanic community, the Asian community, the White community and the Black community in the Bay Area to become more involved in this great Bay Area Medical Drive," he urged.

Kangai provided an informative analysis on the current status of the armed liberation struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front, which is composed of ZANU and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

RALLY THE PEOPLE

"Our liberation movement has been able to rally all the people of Zimbabwe around armed struggle. We are now operating all across Zimbabwe and have semi-liberated 40 per cent of the countryside," Kangai said, noting that by "semi-liberated" he meant that the freedom fighters are constantly under attack.

The ZANU official then elaborated at length on the latest Anglo-American proposals for bringing Black majority rule to Rhodesia.

Attacking the proposals because of the provision giving control of the transitional government to Great Britain, Kangai emphasized, "The liberation movement in Zimbabwe has been fighting for 15 years. We have not been fighting so that Britain can be recognized. We have been fighting so that power can be surrendered to the people of Zimbabwe."

On the issue of United Nations peacekeeping forces in Rhodesia, Kangai said that in the past the world body has "failed dismally" when it sent such forces to

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ACTORS SEEK ASYLUM

Winnie Mandela Given Suspended Sentences

(Bloemfontein, South Africa) - Black South African activist Winnie Mandela last week received two suspended six-month prison sentences for visiting with her relatives and holding a conversation with her neighbors during which they discussed the price of a chicken.

Following the sentence, Mrs. Mandela, who has been banned to Brandfort, a small predominantly Afrikaans town near here since last May, marched defiantly through town surrounded by cheering, chanting supporters. Eight of them were arrested as they passed a police station singing and making Black power salutes.

The wife of imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela, Mrs. Mandela, 43, was convicted for violating restrictions on her social life imposed by the South African government. Under the seven-year banning order enacted a-

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NEW MARKETS FOR MULTINATIONALS

POLICE ATTACK PROTESTERS IN TOKYO AIRPORT SEIGE

(Narita, Japan) - After a day-long battle, police last week moved in with fire hoses and tear gas and forced a group of students and farmers from a fortress-like structure erected to protest Tokyo's new international airport.

Thirty-six people, most of them students, were arrested.

The airport, located 50 miles from Tokyo in the town of Narita, is scheduled to open late next month. It has been a frequent target of bitter armed protest by farmers, who object to having their land confiscated for runways, and left-wing students who have supported the farmers' plight.

Protests by farmers and students have delayed the opening of the airport by several years. The Japanese government has promoted the airport as a super-modern gateway to Asia.

The latest action by the farmers and students was the erection of the large, thick-walled fortress near one runway.

Located on private land owned by opponents of the airport, the tower had risen to three stories by Feburary 12 after a weekend of construction work. It was stocked with food in preparation for a siege. That night the fortress was topped off with a steel tower that reached to a height of 160 feet.

Police began their attack on the protesters and attempted to tear down the tower at daybreak the following day, after first forcefully removing a group of farm women who had laid down in the roadway.



Japanese troops on parade. The U.S. has increased military expenditures to the Japanese government in the effort to reduce America's balance of trade deficit.

Fire trucks shot powerful blasts of water at the fort, and police from Tokyo and three other areas moved in with shields and helmets. For most of the day the protesters held the police at bay by hurling firebombs and other missiles from ledges inside.

The police let loose with tear gas that night and penetrated one barricaded with the water hoses.

By midnight police had not succeeded in hauling down the tower because of the muddy field. However, they prepared to renew their efforts by lining the muddy ruts with iron and concrete. At least four student protesters clung to their perches high up on the tower, refusing to surrender.

Meanwhile, under the guise of supposedly helping the U.S. workers, the Carter administration is seeking to reduce the America's balance of trade deficit at the expense of Japan, one of its major capitalist rivals.

In reality, the U.S. government's actions against Japan are totally in the interests of U.S.-based multinational corporations, and are in fact a major blow in what has become a full-scale trade war among the capitalist nations of the world.

According to the *Japan Press Service*, "U.S. industries have changed into one of selling goods abroad through the multinationals, and not exporting them directly from the U.S.

"It has also increased military expenditures as well as investments and financing abroad. In this process the U.S. has spent dollars excessively. The U.S., however, has no intention of easing its balance of payments deficits by its own actions, but is putting the blame on Japan for the trade surplus."

But while the large Japanese industrialists have grown in economic power, Japan's general economy has not. As the yen rises in value against the dollar, Japanese workers suffer from continuous inflation, longer working hours, job losses through intensive automation, and drastic cutbacks in social welfare. Small businesses suffer from higher international market prices.

The Japanese financial powers are now faced with a severe problem — they must open up certain markets to U.S. exports or

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Winnie Mandela Given Suspended Sentences

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gainst her last May, she is not allowed to talk with more than one person at a time.

Nelson Mandela has served 14 years of a life sentence in the maximum security prison on Robben Island, 10 miles off Cape Town, and for the past 16 years his wife has lived under various restriction orders. The home to which Mrs. Mandela is now confined has no running water or electricity.

Commenting on the severity of the charges against Mrs. Mandela, her attorney told the court: "If the accused is imprisoned for discussing the price and size of a chicken, there must be something wrong with our justice and administrations."

Meanwhile, in Toronto, Canada, eight Black South African actors last week sought political asylum, declaring that it would be dangerous for them to return home because of their role in a play critical of South Africa's racial policies.

The five men and three women members of the South African Jabula players presented themselves to Canadian immigration authorities and filed applications for refugee status.

Sources with the acting troupe said they feared reprisals fromthe White minority government because a commentary in their production at Toronto's O'Keefe Center last month was critical of the apartheid system and contained references to murdered Black Consciousness Movement founder Steve Biko. □

Africa In Focus

United Nations

(United Nations, N.Y.) - An influential African ambassador to the United Nations recently warned that African countries might boycott the Security Council if Western countries persist in using their veto power to block further action against South Africa. Ndugu Ratha Krishna Ramphul, the chief delegate of Mauritius, underscored his warning by announcing that he would introduce an African-backed resolution calling for a ban on new foreign investments in the White apartheid regime, the *Daily News* of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, reports. "The veto has been used too frequently, and its use has hurt Africa," Ramphul told the Council. "It might well be that, in the event of further vetoes, the African group might decide to ask all African delegations to cease participating in the deliberations of the Security Council until such time as it meets its unique obligations to the people of South Africa."

Rhodesia

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - To combat its mounting losses at the hands of the Patriotic Front, the Rhodesian government last week announced that it was drafting young Blacks into the White-led armed forces who are fighting the military wing of the Front, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). A statement published in the *Government Gazette* said that all Blacks who had begun trade apprenticeships as of November 1, 1977, would be required to register for the draft in the near future. The some 220 youth who are affected will be called up next January.

Congo Republic

(Brazzaville, Congo Republic) - Ten men were executed by firing squad last week for the March 18, 1977, assassination of progressive Congolese President Marien Ngouabi, the government announced. President Joaquim Yombi Opango rejected the 10's plea for mercy following their February 13 sentencing. The court that sentenced them also condemned another person, still at large, who is charged with being part of the assassination. Ex-President Alphonse Massamba-Debat was executed last March after being convicted of plotting the assassination.

DEPUTY FOREIGN SECRETARY VISITS BAY AREA

S.W.A.P.O. DENOUNCES SOUTH AFRICA FOR NAMIBIAN TALKS WALKOUT

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) vowed here last week to intensify the armed liberation struggle in Namibia following South African "Foreign Minister" Roelof Botha's walkout from talks on independence for the illegally ruled colony.

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma blasted Botha as "a coward" who "ran away. We came here with an open mind, ready to talk with him," the guerrilla leader declared. "We will return to Africa and continue to intensify the war of liberation."

Nujoma and Botha held two days of separate talks with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the foreign ministers of Britain, France, West Germany and Canada who unsuccessfully tried to bring the opposing sides together.

South Africa regards SWAPO as a "terrorist" organization and refuses to directly negotiate with its leaders.

"DISAPPOINTED"

Botha withdrew from the talks "profoundly disappointed" at the demand made by the five Western powers that South African forces in Namibia be reduced from the present figure of 20,000 to 1,500.

"We've offered an absolute minimum of troops," the South African official said, refusing to disclose the figures.

SWAPO has repeatedly demanded that all South African forces withdraw from Namibia.

At a recent San Francisco press conference, SWAPO Deputy Foreign Secretary Aron Shihipo denounced the efforts of the five Western nations to bring Black majority rule to Namibia.

"From the inception of our contacts with the Western powers, we made it very clear that our interests and theirs are not at all identical and can never be," Shihipo emphasized.

"We reminded them that the history of the United Nations and the history of Namibia are testimony of their constant support of the South African regime," he added.

Shihipo, who was visiting the Bay Area to raise funds and other support for SWAPO forces, pointed out that the current Western negotiations on the Namibian issue are not the first time the five countries have intervened in the matter.



Women members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) on the march.

"All these initiatives have failed, therefore, and we are very pessimistic that this present contact will bring any solution," the SWAPO deputy foreign secretary said.

During a television interview following his walkout from the United Nations talks, Botha said that South Africa is prepared to provide free "one man, one vote" elections in Namibia and to dismantle apartheid policies in the former German territory.

While South Africa is opposed to a U.N. role in administering the transitional government in Namibia, Botha said that the White minority government is willing to accept U.N. supervision of elections and the presence of the world body during the period before Black majority rule.

Shihipo attacked the deceptive efforts of South Africa "to convince the world that she has abandoned her policy of the bantustanization of Namibia." The SWAPO Central Committee member explained that the apartheid regime is pursuing its plan to divide Namibia into 10 tribal

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REVIEW OF FIRST YEAR

Angola Literacy Drive Successful

(Luanda, Angola) - More than 102,000 men and women have learned to read and write in the first year of Angola's national literacy campaign. And it has only cost $10 to the state for each newly literate worker.

The lesson is clear: it need not cost a lot of money to help illiterate workers to read and write in a country where people organize to struggle for the progress of the most dispossessed.

"The low cost is thanks to the revolutionary spirit of our literacy teachers who have perfectly understood that teaching literacy is a political act and are not asking to be paid for their work," said the director of the Angolan National Literacy Center last week.

Presenting a detailed report of the work of 21,000 literacy classes across the country, organized under 150 municipal literacy centers, the national literacy chief said the original target of 20,000 literate workers in the first year had been overtaken more than five times. About one million adults are now in daily literacy classes, he said.

The literacy campaign was launched across the country in November, 1976, on the first anniversary of independence, after hundreds of volunteers had taken crash literacy teaching courses. These courses were based on a method devised by the MPLA during the liberation war in the bush, and improved after consultations with the Brazilian literacy expert Paulo Freire, who has also worked with the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique, Sara Rodrigues reports in the *Guardian*.

The literacy manual takes

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The MPLA is wiping out illiteracy among young Angolans.

Miners' Council Rejects Coal Pact

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(BCOA) have branded strikes over safety "wildcatting." Worthington and other miners call it the "right to withdraw."

The difference he says is not semantic, but political. "Miners who work at the face are able to see a lot of danger before anyone is killed. The liberty to withdraw would save a lot of lives."

Worthington says that in the coal fields, such actions are a "political thing. The coal operators control the local courts. They control the whole ball of yarn on a state level and that influences the federal level.

"On a federal level," he explained, "we have the right to withdraw, but local courts don't recognize that. It's always a local guy who decides whether or not it's a 'wildcat' and the way he holds his job is to go along with the political system."

In the spring of 1977 there was a series of job actions all over the coal fields. These drained the union's strike fund and many miners charged they were deliberately provoked in order to weaken the UMW in the face of the then upcoming negotiations.

"In union mines," Worthington explained, "we have a safety committee which must check dangers and then consult with management." The committee then requests repairs. In most cases, this spring, Worthington and the UMW say, the operators refused to make even minimal repairs. This left miners little choice.



Coal miners are fighting to win decent working conditions.

"In regards to living or dying the men rightfully choose living and refused to go to work."

The dangers included loose rocks, faulty machinery, buildups of gases and little or no air. Federal regulations require 9,000 cubic feet of air at each face. When the level drops below that, miners can't breathe and dust builds up.

The mines in this country are the most dangerous place a man or woman can work. In 1976, there were 141 deaths and 14,000 injuries officially recorded in the mines. In the entire world, there is only one other country with a worse safety record, South Africa. Worthington pointed out that in many cases the same corporations own controlling interests in South Africa and the U.S. The giant oil companies, he said, "control 40 per cent of the coal mines."

Turning to the black lung fight, one he's been in since the miners finally forced Congress to pass the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act in 1969, Worthington said that despite tremendous effort, "as yet, there's not a mine that's come into compliance with the mine health and safety act."

The 1969 statute for the first time mandated that any miner who'd spent 10 years or more in underground mines and had a respiratory disease, got it in the mines and should be compensated. It was legal, federal recognition of how deadly the nation's mines were.

The statute was only passed after massive demonstrations by disabled, crippled and retired miners and the Farmington, West Virginia, mine disaster where 78 miners died in a mine explosion. □

World Scope

United Nations

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Under pressure from developing countries, the United Nations is undergoing its biggest internal reorganization since its establishment in 1945. The reorganization was approved at the recent General Assembly session and focuses on rearranging the economic and social functions that absorb 80 per cent of the U.N.'s budget to comply with Third World demands, for a new world economic order. The plan, in part, provides for a new position of director general for economic development to be appointed by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim from a Third World country.

Western Europe

(Hanover, West Germany) - The Nazis are surfacing all over Europe and finding an amazing degree of tolerance from Western governments. Today there are some 30 Nazi and fascist movements in France, 142 groups ranging from neo-Nazi to ultra right-wing in West Germany, with over 18,000 members, reports the *Guardian*.

England

(London, England) - "People are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture," said the leader of Britain's Conservative Party in a widely criticized TV interview on immigration policy. Citing statistics that Britain's Black immigrant and Third World population would be near four million by the end of the century, Margaret Thatcher claimed that "the British character [that] has done so much for democracy, for law," was threatened.

Philippines

(Jolo, Philippines) - The government of President Ferdinand Marcos has renewed its counterinsurgency offensive against the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the southern Philippines. A "fortified hamlet" drive — an attempt to separate the guerrillas from the sympathetic civilian population — is in effect on Jolo island, scene of repeated large-scale government troop losses. The MNLF has been fighting for self-determination for the region's 13 predominantly Muslim provinces since 1962.

ENTERTAINMENT

PAUL WINFIELD IN BRILLIANT PERFORMANCE ON NBC-TV "DOCU-DRAMA"

"KING": EXTRAORDINARY POWER, VIBRANTLY ALIVE



PAUL WINFIELD and CICELY TYSON, as Rev. and Mrs. Martin L. King, Jr., in scene from powerful NBC "docu-drama" King.

With the possible exception of *Roots*, *King*, written and directed by Abby Mann and aired on three consecutive nights last week on NBC-TV, is the most powerful, illuminating and captivating production seen on American television.

The entire six-hour "docu-drama" was truly a triumph, with Paul Winfield putting in a simply extraordinary performance covering the last 16 years in the life of our great Black civil rights leader. With Winfield at all times in command, Dr. King, depicted in private life with his family, children and advisers, as well as in his public struggles, becomes vibrantly alive, an all-too-human leader of a growing civil rights movement — a Black man leading his people through troubled times in direct action, nonviolent confrontation with racist America, a Black man destined, because he was who he was, to die.

POWER AND GLORY

And certainly, though the film's ultimate power and glory flows from the greatness of Dr. King as he hesitatingly seizes the reigns of the historical moment — riding the winds of social change and uniting Black people, North and South, under his own particular blend of personal magnetism, moral outrage and political courage — *King* pulls no punches in depicting the machinations of the federal government, particularly the FBI, in first refusing to step in and stop the racist attacks and then actively working to discredit him and thwart the Movement.

King takes us behind the scenes, and in so doing dramatically exposes, for the first time on American TV, the evil that was J. Edgar Hoover, as well as the deadly federal police bureaucracy set in motion to destroy a Black leader and his "Dream."

We learn, for example, how two Black firemen assigned to a station near the Lorraine Motel and a Black Memphis cop assigned to King's security are all mysteriously transferred in the early morning hours before the April 6, 1968, assassination. As the Black cop later remarks concerning Dr. King's murder: "It just don't happen that way — they'll never make me believe it was coincidental."

And because we know Dr. King's fate, this tension of impending tragedy builds from the film's opening moments; a life vs. death, nonviolence vs. violence scenario that is an integral part of *King's* power and vitality, just as it was in real life.

Indeed, author/director Mann begins *King* within this shadow of death, opening the film with an abortive march in Memphis two days before the assassination. As Dr. King slumps into an armchair, tired and obviously discouraged to see a peaceful march erupt into fighting, the movie begins in earnest with a flashback to 1952-53.

We implicitly learn much of the nature of Dr. King from these early scenes of his courtship of Coretta Scott (nicely played by Cicely Tyson) when both were students in Boston. The young "M.L. King, Jr." is proud, perhaps a bit cocky, persuasive, engaging, strong. His political leanings are definite, but not overriding: he recognizes that most preachers are "turning religion into the opposite of what it's supposed to mean;" that "to really follow the precepts of Jesus would be. . .revolutionary"; and that "if anything is going to start with our people, it's going to be through the church." But, he adds, "I have no ambition outside of being a good pastor."

DRAFTED

Thus, the stage is set, so that in 1955, when he is drafted by local Blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, to lead the bus boycott initiated following the arrest of Rosa Parks, we can believe his reluctance to assume responsibility. Throughout, and herein lies the greatness in Winfield's performance, we see Dr. King as a man, a Black man full of all the human frailities, doubts and characteristics common to all men.

(In a recent interview, Winfield commented on this fine point;

"Leaders are important, but the Black community relies on them too much. Every Black leader has been eliminated or effectively silenced. We're stagnating, waiting for someone else to get it started again, when every person could do just a little bit more. It's a sense of sharing responsibility that I think the Black community lacks. I realize that if you live on Fillmore or in the Haight, you may feel, 'What the fuck can I do?' Well, I don't have easy answers, but caring for the person next to you helps a great deal. . .I hope we demonstrate that King was like everyone else. He was — there's a church phrase — 'the least of his flock' as much as a leader of his flock. If his life is any lesson, it's that we have unlimited capacities if we try. He never stopped trying. Maybe that's what makes a hero.")

From this point on, Dr. King's life becomes intimately intertwined with the saga of struggle we now call the Civil Rights Movement. From the famous bus boycott, to local restaurant desegregations; then onward to Birmingham, to Philadelphia, Mississippi (where three civil rights workers were slain); the crowning March on Washington and the tense trek from Selma to Montgomery for voter registration; a brief sojourn North to Chicago and a tumultuous march to end housing segregation; the initial planning of the Poor People's Campaign, and a side trip to Memphis.

Through it all, we see not only Dr. King, but also significant others who played key roles in the drama of the '60's. A sequence between John and Robert Kennedy provides telling testimony of the government's posture to the beatings and mayhem inflicted by White racists upon the Freedom Riders and other demonstrator's:

Robert — "I said, what should we do?"

John — "The same thing we've always done. . .nothing!"

To go into all of *King's* positive achievements would take many pages. As a "docu-drama," certain distortions are there, the most bothersome being one in which Bull Connor, then Birmingham police chief, orders his men to turn the hoses on an Easter Sunday demonstration, but they refuse. Such sympathies for Blacks never touched the hearts of those White racists who, just a few scenes before, viciously hosed and set their dogs upon a cluster of young Black children.

But, minor points notwithstanding, *King* stands out as a dignified, praiseworthy portrayal of a man who once said that, "The arc of the moral universe is long, but bent toward justice," and through his personal "grim determination" sought to lead his people 'round that bend. □

Angola Literacy Drive Successful

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adults through around 20 lessons, in Portuguese, during which they learn basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, and facts about Angola and the history of the liberation struggle. Once the pupil is sufficiently sure of basic reading and writing he or she passes a literacy test and is then eligible for more advanced teaching.

Under the future education structure being set up in Angola, adults will then follow primary education courses especially designed to take them through six years of primary schooling in four years, and then channeling them into further technical programs.

ONE LESSON

One lesson to have emerged from the first year of literacy teaching, however, is the very limited knowledge of the Portuguese language in the country. The Workers' Party at its first congress decided literacy should from now on be taught in the workers' mother tongue — something that has been going on informally as teachers responded to concrete situations in the countryside where the majority of their pupils did not speak Portuguese.

A paper has been presented for discussion on developing Angola's national languages and on the use of the official language, Portuguese. Basically, it emphasized the need to teach literacy to adults and to start primary schooling to children always in their mother tongue, to eliminate cultural disadvantages and possible alienating effects of a foreign language and to speed up the learning process.

The mother tongue tends to be an Angolan language in the vast majority of cases, with Portuguese as a mother tongue virtually limited to a small urban elite. The new understanding of the language problem is just one of the many lessons the masses have taught the MPLA Workers' Party during the first 12 months of the national literacy campaign.



Teaching young Angolans to read and write is a major step toward industrial training and improving the technological skills in Angolan industry, which is crippled by a shortage of workers.

Another has been the greater degree of mobilization of the peasant masses than of the city population, throughout the country. National Literacy Center Director Guilherme de Sousa put it this way:

"In the urban sector, where literacy teaching has better objective conditions to work in, both in terms of available teachers and teaching material, we cannot say that things are really going well. Despite the better objective conditions, it is not always in the cities that literacy classes are developing fastest. We have concrete cases tending to prove it is mainly away from the cities that literacy work is going best."

The literacy chief continued, "We believe the main factor is people's own consciousness and not the objective material conditions they have. And so we never raise questions of lack of equipment or means as a barrier to advancing with literacy teaching. Our conclusion is that the literacy battle is first a political battle which is being fought over and above all the difficulties that exist. In practice we have now seen that in spite of all the many difficulties and problems we have got results far and way above the pessimistic forecasts that said we were swamped in a sea of problems."

The literacy campaign must eventually reach around 80 per cent of adult Angolans — perhaps 4 million people — all illiterate after Portugal's colonial rule. There is still a tremendous shortage of teachers, books and equipment — pencils, exercise books, blackboards, chalk. But everywhere you go in Angola today, you will find literacy classes. In the shade of a tree, a teacher sits surrounded by collective farm workers, their books on their knees.

Although the literacy campaign has moved faster in the countryside it has also gone ahead strongly in factories in industrial urban areas and in neighborhoods where there are strong political activists. Literacy for workers is a major step toward industrial training and improving technological skills in Angolan industry where there is a crippling shortage of skilled workers and cadres.

But literacy especially is having a deep and broad mobilizing effect on the masses. Just what it means to a man or woman suddenly to learn to read and write has been reflected in thousands of letters they have written to President Agostinho Neto, after passing the literacy test.

Just one example comes from Angelica Vatilanje, who lives in Otchakadi, near the border between Cunene province and South African-occupied Namibia. She wrote simply, "Comrade president, I am happy that Angola is justly and totally liberated."□

Police Attack Protesters In Airport Seige

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face disastrous economic trade barriers from their major trade partner — barriers which are likely to be adopted by Western European countries.

The Japanese negotiators have bent over backwards to satisfy U.S. demands, but the final solutions will aid neither U.S. or Japanese workers, and will likely throw Japan into further economic chaos.

The answer they're coming up with, writes *People's World*, is to open U.S. exports of agricultural goods and expand Japan's already growing war economy, thereby leaving their major heavy industrial exports intact while threatening the country's already dependent agricultural industry, and opening Japan up to expanded arms production.

But the people of Japan are already suffering under depression conditions as a result of the rising value of the yen, and the accompanying slowdown in production.

Unemployment is at the highest level since World War II, hitting not only small businesses, but major industries — 1,050,000 in September of last year, 40,000 over the same month the year before, of which 30,000 were women.□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Costa Rica

(San Jose, Costa Rica) - President-elect Rodrigo Carazo, who recently unseated outgoing President Daniel Oduber, is vowing to expel Robert Vesco from Costa Rica. Carazo said last week that when he takes office May 8 he will conduct a probe of the legal ramifications of Vesco's case. Vesco, who has investments estimated at between $24 and $60 million in Costa Rica, fled the U.S. to escape prosecution for stock fraud and illegal contributions to President Nixon.

Nicaragua

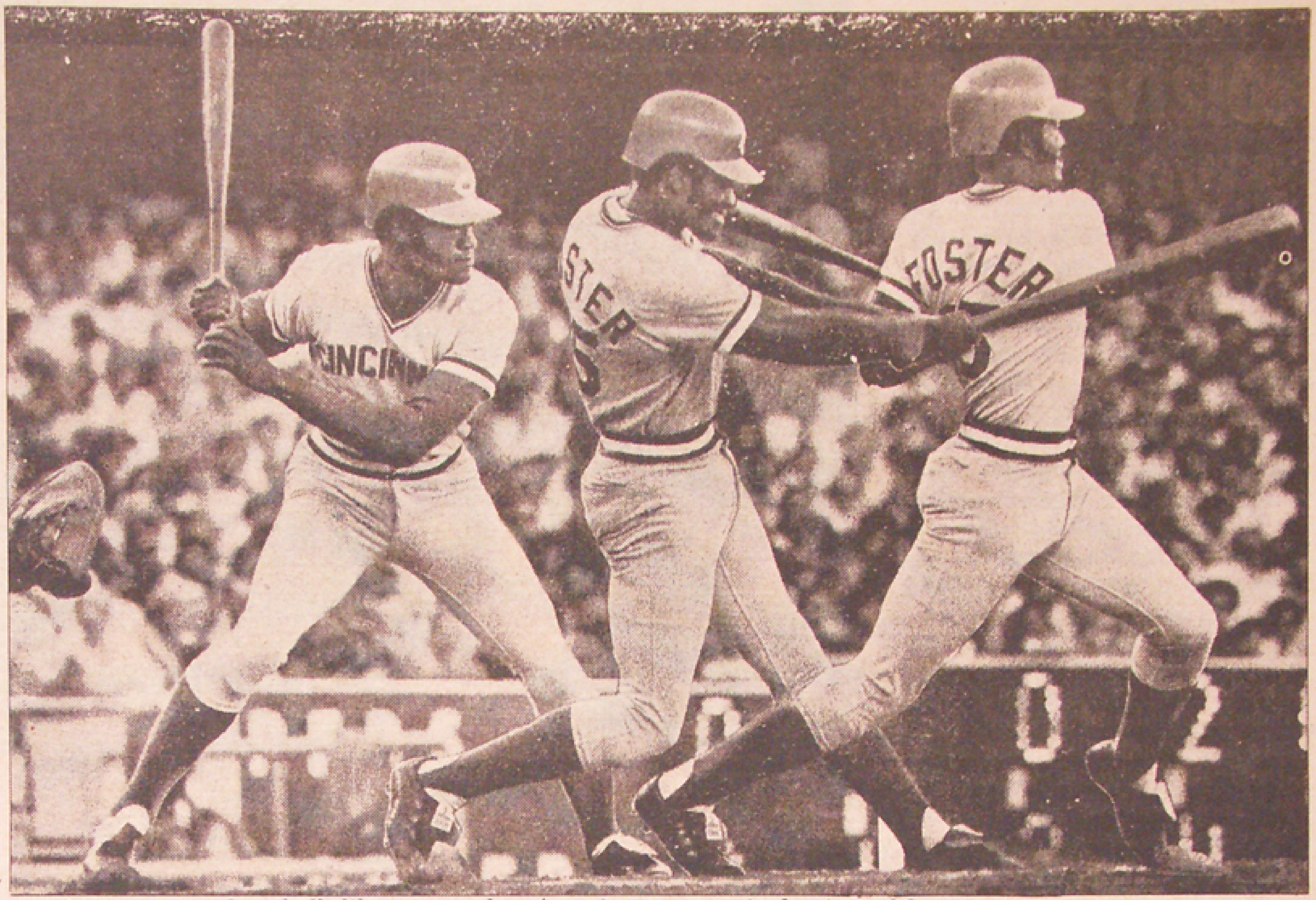
(Managua, Nicaragua) - U.S. Ambassador Maurice Solaum recently admitted that there are over 20 anti-Castro Cuban exiles from the U.S. fighting as mercenaries to help Nicaraguan troops suppress the popular forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which is battling to overthrow the regime of President Anastasia Somoza. Somoza has been prominently featured on the front pages of newspapers of the Cuban exile community in Miami, Florida, and feted by the anti-Castro terrorist group Alpha 66. Meanwhile, 1,500 demonstrators marched and protested at the White House demanding that the Carter administration break all ties with Somoza. In San Francisco, 800, and in Los Angeles, 300 protesters staged similar demonstrations and occupied the Nicaraguan consulate in both cities.

Panama

(Washington, D.C.) - Right-wing opponents of the Panama Canal treaties resorted to smear tactics in the Senate last week, successfully demanding a secret session on February 21 to hear allegations that the family of Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos is involved in drug smuggling. The Senate Intelligence Committee previously looked into allegations that Torrijos or his brother were investigated by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency. However, that committee ended its probe after concluding the charges had no bearing on the treaties. Senate debate on ratification of the treaties, which centers on U.S. rights to intervene militarily after Panama assumes full control of the canal in 22 years, is being carried live by radio.

DOMINATION GROWS

IS TELEVISION TAKING OVER AMERICAN SPORTS?



Major league baseball, like many other American sports, is dominated by television, whose goal is maximizing profits.

(Hollywood, Calif.) - Television and sports have become hopelessly, dangerously intertwined.

Television can now determine when games are played; sometimes who plays whom. Television controls the tempo of football games.

In the last seven years, television has become the major source of income for pro football, and has dramatically increased its influence on major league baseball and college football.

How did it happen? The answer is as clear as the signatures on the network checks.

The figures are staggering. Beginning next season television money will more than cover the payrolls in the entire National Football League (NFL). That's money in the bank for the 28 teams before a single ticket, hotdog or program is sold.

The three networks will pay the NFL about $656 million in the next four years — that's an increase of 162 per cent from the current contract.

And football is only part of the sports-television story.

At hearings recently in Congress, lawmakers were properly indignant over affairs like tennis matches that were promoted as winner-take-all — but weren't (CBS), and the tainted "U.S. boxing championship tournament (ABC)."

A new agreement provides that NBC and TVS, an independent producer, pay $4.5 million for college basketball.

•Golf and tennis, two White dominated sports, get poor ratings, but ABC pays $1.5 million to televise golf's U.S. Open, CBS more than $2 million for tennis' U.S. Open. Why so much? The "demographics" are good, says one television executive. Translation: Not many people watch, but those who do have a lot of money. Advertisers like that.

The figures go on and on, and they raise a question: What does television ask in return? It's a matter for federal investigation, because the government licenses broadcast stations.

Jim Spence of ABC told the *Washington Post*, "Anyone who thinks that we aren't going to try to make sure our economic investment pays off is being naive."

The ways in which the networks protect their investments vary. They can be as subtle as football's TV time outs, a part of the game that once aroused passions when a man ran on the field waving a red flag to stop a game. Or they can be as blatant as ABC using its control of college football telecasts to play matchmaker for a bowl game, such as last year when it offered the University of Pittsburgh more money and an extra TV appearance to play in the Sugar Bowl.

Some examples:

•The pennant-deciding game between the Phillies and Dodgers was played in the rain at Philadelphia. Chub Feeney, president of the National League, was well aware NBC expected a big audience for the Saturday night game. Maybe the fact that NBC's Simmons spent the entire day with Feeney was only a coincidence.

Baseball's entire post-season schedule is, in fact, created for television.

•After the Montreal Olympics, both ABC (Sugar Ray Leonard) and CBS (Howard Davis) signed gold medal boxing winners to contracts. This put the networks in the position of owning, promoting and televising their bouts.

•CBS occasionally has pressured the NBA to begin West Coast games in the morning so they can be televised in the East early Sunday afternoon. "I think we're getting much closer to an equal partnership," NBA Commissioner Larry O'Brien told the *Boston Globe*.

•Sports announcers are entertainers, not journalists. "I have found it's impossible to examine a story and tell it freely," ABC's Jim Lampley told the *Washington Post*. "Do we tell the whole truth? Not always, because there is too much money on the line. I can tell a story to the degree it doesn't harm the relationship between the TV network and the promoter or sports organization involved."

Barry Frank, who until that network's recent shakeup was the head of CBS Sports, says if announcers "have strong feelings on something, we can present it as clearly labeled commentary — but not at games."□



Spinks Triumphs

(Las Vegas, Nev.) - Twenty-four-year-old former Olympic champion LEON SPINKS dethroned the legendary people's champion Muhammad Ali here last Wednesday, gaining a closely contested split decision in their heavyweight title fight. Spinks gained the championship in only his eighth pro fight, outpointing a weary 36-year-old Ali in his 21st, and only unsuccessful, title defense. "I think I'm good for one more," Ali said after the fight. "I'd like to be the first man ever to win the title three times."

"We Will Crush The Rhodesian Government"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

troubled areas of the world. He cited such examples as the Belgian Congo (now Zaire), Cyprus, Korea and the Middle East.

"The people of Zimbabwe have been fighting to liberate our country, and we should be our own peacekeepers," Kangai declared.

He also criticized the Zimbabwe Development Fund, a scheme concocted by the Western powers to ensure continued economic power of the White minority in Rhodesia after the onset of Black majority rule.

"We see the Zimbabwe Development Fund as interference by the Western powers in the development of our country. We should develop Zimbabwe according to our own plan," Kangai said.

He then went on to denounce the well-publicized talks being held in Rhodesia between Smith and Black puppet leaders Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremy Chirau.



BPINS photos

(Left to right) CECILIA GUIDO, STEVEN GUERRA, PAUL SMITH and TIRIVAFI KANGAI addressed San Francisco rally in support of the armed struggle in Rhodesia.

Blasting the three men as "sellouts, Uncle Toms and traitors to the motherland," Kangai explained that the trio has agreed to the creation of a National Assembly which would be composed of 72 Africans and 28 Whites. A 78 per cent majority would be needed to pass any law.

"But you won't even get that majority with Chirau, Muzorewa and Sithole," Kangai said, pointing out that there is no unity among the three men.

"I am taking time to explain these things," he continued, "because tomorrow we might be caught in a situation where these three stooges may say they have formed an African government and that the armed struggle should be stopped.

"They cannot call a ceasefire. The only people who can call a ceasefire are ZANU and ZAPU — the Patriotic Front," the ZANU representative insisted, adding, "We are not fighting in Zimbabwe to be co-opted by the Rhodesian government."

Nearing the end of his rousing speech, Kangai pinpointed the basis for the 15-year-old armed liberation struggle against the Smith regime.

"We have always emphasized that the war in Zimbabwe is not a racial struggle. We are free people, regardless of the color of our skin, who are an exploited majority.

"Right now the exploiters happen to be Rhodesian Europeans, but tomorrow they may be the Sitholes. Tomorrow they may be the Muzorewas. Tomorrow they may be the Chiraus.

"We are fighting for our independence and dignity. We are going to crush the enemy."□

S.W.A.P.O. Denounces South Africa For Namibian Talks Walkout

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states and one state for Europeans.

Shihipo said that South Africa has imposed martial law in several areas in northern, northwestern and eastern Namibia where gatherings of more than three people are outlawed. Other areas of the country, he said, are under the Emergency Regulations Act which also prohibits public meetings.

Despite these repressive laws, Shihipo pointed out that the apartheid regime allows Black puppet leaders and groups to meet and provides them with assistance, in finances and transportation.

"Furthermore," the SWAPO deputy foreign secretary continued, "South Africa is still training tribal armies in conformity with its policy of bantustanization."

(Shihipo noted that all of the known minerals in Namibia are contained in the proposed single White "mini-state.")

Further discrediting South Africa's public position favoring independence for Namibia, Shihipo said that the Pretoria government has created legislative assemblies in two of the bantustans.

"These are not the signs of a regime that wants the world to believe that it is prepared to lead the people of Namibia to independence," he emphasized.

Regarding the armed liberation struggle being waged by forces of the People's Liberation Army of





Guerrillas of SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). SWAPO has vowed to intensify the armed struggle against the South African government.

Namibia (PLAN) — the military wing of SWAPO — Shihipo said that PLAN freedom fighters are located in several semi-liberated and operational areas throughout northern, northwestern and eastern Namibia.

"We say semi-liberated," the SWAPO official explained, "because in most cases South Africa attacks us with air power. Therefore, our forces are very mobile."

Asked about the role of Mozambique and Angola in aiding the liberation struggle in Namibia and neighboring South Africa and Rhodesia, Shihipo praised the two revolutionary governments for providing concrete material support to the national liberation movements in each country and acting as rear bases for each.

Shihipo stated that the liberation movements in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa are fighting a common enemy, South Africa. He said that the support of the South African government is propping up the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia.

"The situation in the whole of southern Africa is so interconnected that the unity of purpose and action among the liberation movements is of paramount importance."□

Ex-Houston Cops Convicted

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

a misdemeanor, by an all-White Huntsville, Texas, jury and had received suspended sentences and $2,000 fines. The Chicano community became so infuriated by this that they threatened massive civil disobedience unless the federal government intervened.

Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe and other political leaders in the state were then forced to pressure the U.S. Department of Justice to seek indictments against the police officers — not for murder, but for violating Torres' civil rights.

Torres was arrested on May 5 of last year in a Houston tavern on charges of disturbing the peace. The 23-year-old Chicano was viciously beaten by the five officers (while handcuffed) before being taken to the police station for booking.

POLICE STATION

When he was finally taken to the police station the sergeant on duty ordered that Torres be taken to a hospital for treatment. Instead of being taken to a hospital, Torres was taken to Buffalo Bayou, where he had been beaten by the five cops previously.

According to sworn testimony, the officers spreadeagled Torres against a police car and after some discussion by the cops, Denson suggested, "Let's see if this wetback can swim." Then Torres, who was drunk and wearing heavy clothing and Army combat boots, was thrown over a 16-foot concrete embankment. His body was found two days later.

A 20-year-old rookie police officer who had witnessed the incident, Carless Elliott, reported the incident to his superiors after he learned of Torres' death. Elliott later became a key prosecution witness at both trials.

Mrs. Margaret Torres, the mother of the slain man, commented on the verdict saying that it "will not bring my son back, but it may keep some other sons from being hurt."

Following the first trial, when the officers literally walked away scot free, the Chicano woman was stunned with disbelief over the fact that the judicial system condoned the murder of her son.

However, the matter is not yet resolved since one of the lawyers for Officer Terry Denson boldly proclaimed that any time in the penitentiary "would be unacceptable" for the officers and that he would seek an appeal.

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

NIGHTMARE IN ELMIRA, N.Y.

Goodwin's lawyer, that the police had promised to pay if she said it was us.

The other woman (prostitution is her main source of income and she has four children to support), was the biggest liar of all — or as the one-sided newspapers called her, the best witness. She said she saw everything including the color of the victim's eyes from over 50 feet away, behind a twelve-foot wall.

Goodwin's lawyer asked her to read one of the six statements she had made. She said she couldn't see it because she didn't have her glasses. He asked how long she had been without glasses. (She had earlier asked the judge for a recess so she could get her glasses.) She then said she had lost them about a year ago.

Then Goodwin's lawyer wrote on a piece of paper his name and the word "lawyer," all in letters about six inches high. She still said she couldn't see what was written, yet she claims she could see a man with brown eyes, the color of our clothes from behind a twelve-foot wall from over fifty feet away at night, on a street with no lights.

Well at this point the D.A. knew he was losing, so he offered me a misdemeanor and immediate release if I would testify against Goodwin. I told him that I couldn't put a man in jail by telling a lie and that is just what it would have been because I wasn't there and I didn't know who killed the man.

But the D.A. had another card left to play. He was able to place on the jury personal friends of his. Out of 50 prospective jurors, I'd guess that 95 per cent of them were personal friends of his.

Only two Blacks, one of whom the D.A. knew was a friend of Goodwin's, were among the prospective jurors.

Of the rest, one woman had known the D.A. for over 20 years and another the D.A. had helped buy a home, he co-signed.

Goodwin's lawyer asked the judge for a mistrial on these grounds but was refused.

When the jury went out for a verdict, the D.A. offered Goodwin an assault charge if he would confess. Goodwin said not on your life because he didn't do it.

Then the jury wanted to hear the statements of the two prosecution witnesses. The D.A. agreed, but stipulated that they could not read the cross-examination testimony, which showed that the women were lying.

To everyone's surprise (even the D.A.'s) the all-White jury returned with a verdict of guilty of second degree murder.

During the trial, a man who was born here confessed to the murder. When he told city detectives, they just laughed and said that they had the men they wanted to convict on this murder and then they physically threw him out of the station.

I am sure this will make good and truly unbelieveable reading just to see how racist places like Elmira can be. To confirm this you could read the transcripts or contact Goodwin's lawyer, Samual J. Castellino, 414 Church Street, Elmira, New York, 734-2966

Thanks for reading this and I hope it makes you curious enough to at least check it out.

Thank you,

Robert A. Tucker

New York F.B.I.

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to trial with the remaining counts.

Kearney's lawyer is expected to challenge the two other counts in the indictment on other grounds. Those two counts charge a conspiracy to open mail and a conspiracy to tap telephones.

Last December, the five lawyers who had been conducting the Justice Department probe quit in protest over the government's refusal to seek indictments against other FBI agents involved in the illegal activities against the Weathermen.

Attorney General Griffin Bell has previously said that he is waiting for the Kearney case to go to trial before the government seeks indictments against other agents or members of the Bureau hierarchy in connection with the illegal FBI wiretaps, mail tampering and burglaries.

Threads Of Discontent

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

in the mills there wouldn't be any union movement. The companies would only hire us to do the dirty work."

The J.P. Stevens Company is the nation's second largest textile firm. It has 85 plants in North and South Carolina, seven of them in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. In 1974, 3,500 workers (18 per cent of them Black) in the seven plants voted for union representation.

Almost four years later, there is still no union. Stevens has doggedly and illegally evaded the collective bargaining process.

In North Carolina, which has "right to work" laws, there is no such thing as "no contract, no work." Should workers go out on strike, Stevens could, lawfully, hire an entire new work force to keep the mills running.

The union, instead of staging a walkout, has chosen to institute an international boycott of Steven's products (mainly towels, sheets and table linen, but also textile products in unfinished form).

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) recently moved to seek a national injunction against Stevens to prevent it from further interfering with the rights of workers to form a union. The federal courts have held the company in contempt on two occasions.

Many observers believe that if J.P. Stevens loses its case in this labor dispute, the New South will lose its advantage as a mecca for cheap labor.

Curb Intelligence Abuses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The initial reaction of civil libertarians was critical and underscored numerous loopholes. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) issued a statement that praised the proposals for containing more protections than Carter's order but added that "unfortunately these important principles," such as judicial search and eavesdropping warrant requirements and limitations on political investigations, "are nearly overwhelmed by exceptions in the draft charters, and other principles are overlooked entirely."

The package contained the following major proposals:

•In foreign intelligence, the bill prohibits covert activities that "are likely to result in assassination, terrorism, torture...[or] the overthrow of *democratic* governments." The charter specifically prohibits political assassinations, but — for some vague reason — does not bar the killing of foreign agents abroad. The strange specification prohibiting only the overthrow of "democratic" governments is seen as a convenient loophole to intervene in the internal affairs of anti-Western, Third World governments.

•Domestically, the proposal attempts to prevent harassment programs, such as the COINTELPRO program, whose stated objective was to "disrupt, discredit or otherwise neutralize" militant Black organizations, by tightening up on how the agencies retain or distribute information from their files.

It also calls for the government to obtain search and electronic surveillance warrants from one of a panel of selected federal judges. Similar legislation previously submitted by President Carter was denounced by the ACLU for allowing the government to eavesdrop on persons "who are not even reasonably suspected of engaging in criminal activities." Widespread eavesdropping on such persons as the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. by the FBI has been exposed since 1975.

•The charter forbids the intelligence agencies to pay journalists, religious officials or academics in covert operations, but does not bar "voluntary" participation. It permits the establishment of bogus companies and the infiltration of private American institutions to provide "cover." It still allows medical or scientific tests on human beings — including behavior modification and mind-control experimentations — under revised safeguards.

•The Bill would create a director of national intelligence, who would have budgetary control over the intelligence community and more centralized power than former directors of the CIA had, but it leaves the powerful National Security Agency under the Defense Department. The bill would not prohibit the NSA's large-scale intrusions on domestic and international communications.

The bill calls for stiff penalties for "present or former government employees who deliberately disclose the identity of secret agents." The section is clearly aimed at stopping such leaks as Philip Agee's book, *Inside the Company*, which identified covert employees of the CIA several years ago.

Regardless the NSA proposals, a joint statement by the ACLU and the Center for National Security Studies, a Washington, D.C.-based civil liberties group, charged that if the charter legislation is approved by Congress it "would for the first time legitimize the use of the super-secret NSA to conduct surveillance of Americans."

The security agency has been embroiled in controversy. In 1976, the Senate Intelligence Committee reported that the agency had developed files on some 75,000 American citizens on the basis of information intercepted by what have been called its "electronic vacuum cleaners in the sky."

The number of employees of the NSA, the size of the budget and how it goes about intercepting and decoding electronic messages are among the most tightly held secrets of the government.

The ACLU/Center for National Security Studies statement said: "The sweeping NSA technology would be limited by a warrant procedure for 'targeting' U.S. persons, but unlike other forms of electronic surveillance the NSA practices would continue to involve routine interception of millions of 'untargeted' private communications."

David L. Watters, the Washington, D.C. representative of the American Privacy Foundation, charged that the proposed legislation would expand the security agency's activities beyond what is currently lawful, develop the equivalent of an "official secrets act" and give the agency a monopoly on methods of preserving personal privacy.

"For all these reasons," Watters said, "the proposed NSA charter represents a profound threat to America's freedom."□

Latest C.I.A. Disclosure: Involuntary Assassins

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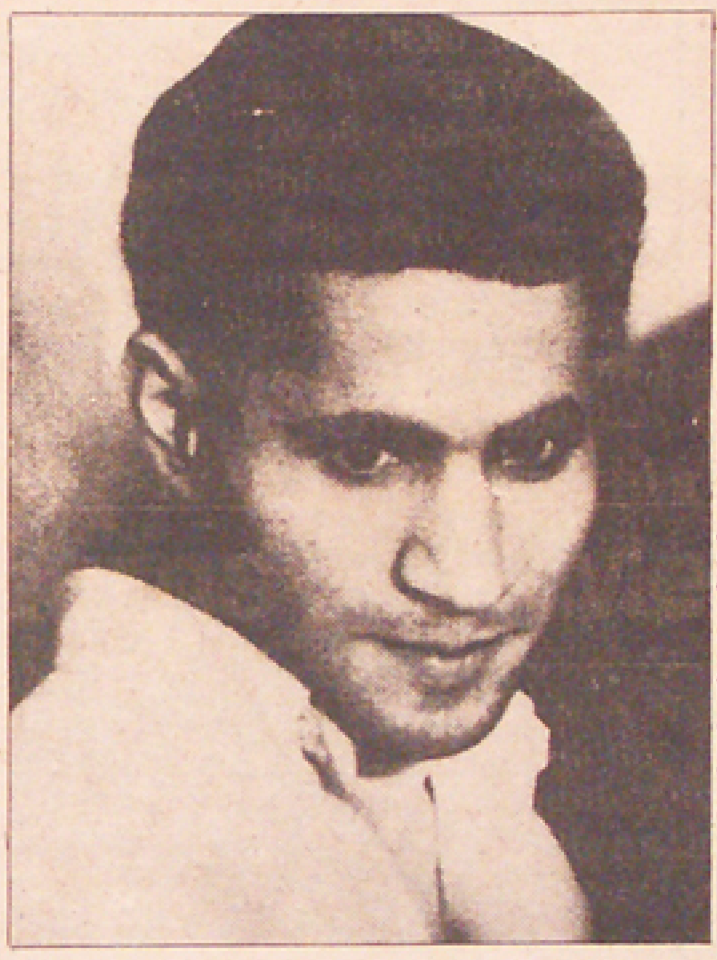
ical problem" in January, 1954:

"Can an individual of (deleted nationality) descent be made to perform an act of attempted assassination involuntarily under the influence of Artichoke?"

The memorandum, which like most documents released by the agency has names of individuals, government agencies or locations deleted, described the following "problem.":

As a 'trigger mechanism,' for a bigger project, it was proposed that an individual, of (deleted) descent, approximately 35 years old, well educated, proficient in English and well established socially and politically in the (deleted) government be induced under Artichoke to perform an act, involuntarily, against a prominent (deleted) politician or if necessary, against an American official."

At another point it noted that "access to the subject would be extremely limited, probably limited to a single social meeting."





SIRHAN SIRHAN, convicted assassin of ROBERT KENNEDY on the floor. Sirhan may have unknowingly taken mind altering drugs that caused him to shoot Kennedy.

The memorandum went on: "Because the subject is a heavy drinker, it was proposed that the individual could be surreptitiously drugged through the medium of an alcoholic cocktail at a social party, Artichoke applied, and the subject induced to perform the act of attempting assassination at some later date.

"After the act of attempted assassination was performed, it was assumed that the subject would be taken into custody by the (deleted) government and thereby 'disposed of,' " the memorandum said.

The project team reported that it did not think the plan feasible because it would have "insufficient control over the subject." Moreover, it said, he would be "unwitting" and the team's access to the subject would involve both "cleared" personnel — CIA employees — and "uncleared" personnel.

"Whether it was carried out or not under crash conditions and appropriate authority from headquarters, the Artichoke team would undertake the problem in spite of operational limitation," the memorandum said. □

U.S. Whitewashes Violations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

While administration officials emphasize Carter's commitment to curbing authoritarian practices by both hostile and friendly governments, they also concede Carter has slowly adopted a more measured, cautious approach to the issue, in part because of the fears aroused by the policy among allies and adversaries alike.

This shift has not gone unnoticed on Capitol Hill, where the administration is coming under attack by both liberals and conservatives.

The human rights report is expected to increase the level of criticism, particularly from those who assert that by making heavy reductions in military aid only to Nicaragua in next year's budget, the administration has turned a blind eye to abuses in nations of far greater political significance, such as Iran, South Korea and the Philippines.

"It is hard to resist the conclusion that the administration is kicking the little guys while they are leaving the big boys alone," commented a Congressional aide.□

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

REPORT CHARGES FEDERAL VIOLATIONS

RIGHT-WING SUPERVISORS SEEK DESTRUCTION OF SAN FRANCISCO C.E.T.A. PROGRAM



Unemployment is high in San Francisco's predominantly Black Fillmore district. The city's CETA jobs program is under attack by right-wing forces.



(San Francisco, Calif.) - This city's multi-million dollar CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program is under fire from right-wing elements of the Board of Supervisors following a recently-issued report which charges that the job program has consistently violated federal guidelines.

The report, prepared by the Board of Supervisors' financial analyst, Harvey Rose, is the latest skirmish in an ongoing battle between Mayor George Moscone and the supervisors over who will control the $54 million in federal job money allocated to the city this year.

The report prepared by Rose charges that:

•Not enough veterans have been hired;

•The program is not aimed at the hard-core unemployed, but instead at experienced professionals, some with college degrees; and

•The Moscone administration has not required private agencies receiving CETA funds to keep adequate records.

CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS

Conservative members of the Board of Supervisors — among them Dianne Feinstein, Ron Pelosi, Lee Dolson and Quentin Kopp — are waging a concerted effort to gain control of the CETA program. This group of supervisors, led by Kopp, is currently seeking veto power over Moscone's appointment of the director of the Manpower Planning Council, the group that effectively decides where the money goes.

It is no secret that Moscone and Kopp are political enemies and this current conflict is a reflection of that fact. However, it seems unlikely that either of the two are as concerned with alleviating the city unemployment problems, especially in Black and poor communities, as they claim to be.

Regardless of the intentions behind the Rose report, the study pinpoints glaring deficiencies in the city's job program. For example, Joe Prado, an unemployed laborer, stood in line for hours in January, 1975, to apply for a CETA job. He just recently got one.

However, Jeanne Gartland, the 23-year-old college-educated daughter of Eugene Gartland, an attorney and friend of the mayor, didn't have to stand in line to get her job as a $10,000-a-year "movie coordinator" with the mayor's office.

Mirna Hidalgo, who calls herself a "casualty of CETA," comments, "Being a mother and the head of a household, I can't take a job that's too low-paying, yet for the well-paying jobs, they (CETA) were requiring a college degree to peck away at a typewriter.

"So many doors were closed in my face," she explains, "I finally gave up."

Currently, in order for the city's CETA program to meet its federal "hiring schedule," it must hire over 25 people a day between now and the end of February. Eunice Elton, director of the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, which administers CETA, complains, "It's grown too fast to do careful development and scrutiny while, at the same time, meeting our hiring goals."

The legislation funding more CETA jobs for San Francisco and other cities across the country was part of an economic stimulus program presented by President Jimmy Carter. However Carter's proposal has been criticized as "a one-shot deal" more than an effort to provide long-term jobs for the chronically unemployed and underemployed.□

Oakland Mayor Angry Over Outside Hiring

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson raked City Manager Cecil Riley over the coals last week for going outside the city to hire a White public information officer "when we are sitting on a powder keg in Oakland."

Visibly upset, the city's first Black mayor fired a rapid barrage of questions at Riley concerning the appointment, reminding Riley in acid tones that, as mayor, he had pushed for a "Hire Oakland" program since his election last year, and that the White city manager did not consult with him about the appointment.

Paul Cobb, the Black executive director of Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal, and Sylvester Grisby, representing Oakland Community Organization, both insisted that the city's affirmative action officer should be taken out from under Riley's jurisdiction and be directly responsible to the city council.

Wilson agreed, saying putting the affirmative action program under Riley was "like putting the fox to watch the chickens."

Riley, flushed and obviously taken back by the mayor's terse rebuke, said he looked over the city's present staff first, but admitted that he did not advertise the position among city employees.

Defending Riley's action, White Councilman Fred Maggiora said, "I'm sure the city manager acted within his authority given by the city charter."

"I don't believe you can hide behind the charter," Wilson angrily retorted, "when we're sitting on a powder keg in Oakland. We can't forget about hiring people in Oakland. If we are not committed to that we ought to say so."

The uproar stems from the resignation of Wally Carroll, public information officer for the city for the past eight years.

In the same letter in which Riley informed the city council of Carroll's resignation, the city manager said he had appointed Allyson Wong Paulus to the job.

Wilson pointed out to Riley that the positions which are exempt from civil service are "one of the few areas where we can do something about affirmative action." Then he fired this barrage of questions at the city manager.

"Was there any advertising of this job? Did you know she (Paulus) does not live in Oakland? Did you know she is not an ethnic minority? Is it of no concern to you that the mayor has a 'Hire Oakland' program? Did it ever occur to you that it might be worthwhile to discuss this with the mayor?"

In response to another question from Wilson, Riley admitted he did not discuss Paulus' appointment with the city's affirmative action officer, Marcella R. Ingram, who works in Riley's office.□